

THE HISTORY
OF THE
HONOURABLE
Artillery Company.

—♦♦♦—
BY

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TO
FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
ALBERT EDWARD,
PRINCE OF WALES AND DUKE OF CORNWALL,
K.G. K.T. G.C.B. K.P. G.C.S.I. G.C.M.G.

Captain-General & Colonel
"The Honourable Artillery Company,

THIS HISTORY

IS

(BY PERMISSION)

MOST RESPECTFULLY

Dedicated.

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THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

BY

NAJM AD-DIN 'OMARAH AL-YAMANI.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE GRACIOUS.

PRAISE be to God, the most meet to be praised, the most worthy of worship. His blessings and salutations of peace be upon Muhammad the Prophet, the most pure in lineage, the most beneficent of apostles, and upon his family, the most perfect in knowledge, the most steadfast in judgment.

AND AFTER. In the year 563 I attended the receptions of the most illustrious and learned Kādi (al-Fadīl) Abu 'Aly, 'Abd ar-Rahīm, son of the most noble Kādi Bahā ad-Din Abu 'l-Majd 'Aly al-Baisāni (native of Baisān). May God preserve his greatness and perpetuate his dignities. He was Chancellor and Chief Secretary to the Khalifah al-'Adid. He urged me, nay, he guided me, to the composition of a book comprehending all that is preserved in my memory touching the land of Yaman, its plains and its hills, its dry land and its waters, the extent of its kingdoms and the course of its roads, the wars of its people and their battles, their memorable deeds and their achievements, the history of its Kādīs and of its Dā'īs, of its nobles and of

its princes, of its poets, those of whom he had heard and those I had seen.

I obeyed his commands, and I placed reliance upon his indulgence on my work being submitted to him. He is not one in whose presence I feel overcome by the reverence with which I regard his exalted station, and were I not encouraged by my knowledge that judgment (upon my work) rests in his hands, yet would my own lowliness (through his graciousness) convert my fears into boldness.

It has been related to me by the Sheykh and Jurist Nizār ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the native of Mecca, and by the Jurist Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ash'ari—and both are well acquainted with the histories of the people, with their genealogies and with their poetry—and I have also read in the book entitled *Al-Muḥṣul li-Akḥbar Zabīd* (the Instructor on the history of Zabīd), composed by the mighty King Abu 't-Tāmi Jayyāsh, son of Najāh, *Nāṣir ad-dīn* (Defender of the Faith), sovereign of Zabīd—they report that in the year 199 (A.H.) certain persons, descendants of 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) son of Ziyād* were brought to (the 'Khalifah) al-Ma'mūn, son of ar-Rashīd. One, named Muḥammad, grandson of 'Abd Allah ibn Ziyād, claimed to be descended from ('Obayd Allah son of) Ziyād. Another represented himself to be descended from Suleymān, son of (the Omayyad Khalifah) Hishām son of 'Abd al-Malik. Khalf ibn Abi Tāhir, wazīr the Amīr Jayyāsh son of Najāh, was a descendant of that man.

Al-Ma'mūn, in reply to the Omayyad, objected that 'Abd Allah ibn (Muḥammad ibn) 'Alī ibn ('Abd Allah ibn) 'Abbas beheaded Suleymān ibn Hishām, and caused his two sons to be executed on the same day. "I am a descendant," answered the Omayyad, "of Suleymān's youngest son, then in

* Read adherents of the Omayyads.

his childhood. We form a tribe at Baṣrah, where we live in a state of obscurity." Another man, Muḥammad, son of Harūn, claimed to be a member of the tribe of Taghlib. On hearing his name, al-Ma'mūn wept and exclaimed: "Voxily I am answerable for Muḥammad son of Harūn!" He referred to his brother al-Aṇīn. He then ordered the two Omayyads to be put to death, but the Taghlibite to be pardoned for the sake of his name and of that of his father.

Ibn Ziyād thereupon exclaimed, addressing the Khalifah: "How falsely do people speak, O Prince of the Faithful, when pretending that thou art lenient, forgiving, and averse to shedding blood without just cause! If it be thy purpose to slay us by reason of our misdeeds, behold, we have not forsaken obedience unto thee, neither have we, in our allegiance, dis severed ourselves from the counsels of the nation. And if thou desirest to punish us for the crimes of the Omayyads against thy race, behold God, be he exalted, hath said:—*No burdened soul shall bear the load that belongeth to another.*"² Al-Ma'mūn approved and commended the words of Ibn Ziyād. All his prisoners were pardoned, and they were more than one hundred in number. He placed them under the care of Abu 'l-ʿAbbas al-Faḍl ibn Sahl *Dhu 'r-Ri'āsah*, or, according to others, under that of al-Faḍl's brother, al-Ḥasan.

In Muharram A.H. 202, the proclamation took place at Baghḍād of Ibrāhīm, son of (the Khalifah) al-Mahdi (and uncle of al-Ma'mūn—in pursuance of an attempt to usurp the throne). At that same time a letter came from the governor of Yaman with tidings of the revolt of the Ash'arites and 8 'Akkites.³ Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl spoke to al-Ma'mūn in praise of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād, of the Marwānīte, and of the Taghlibite. He urged that they were men of distinction, and unsurpassed in their capacity

to render good service.* He advised, their being sent to Yaman, Ibn Ziyād as Amār, Ibn Hishām as Wazīr,† and the Taghlibite as Judge and Mufti.* From the sons of the Taghlibite Muḥammad ibn Harūn, are descended the Kādīs of Zabīd, known as the Banu Abi 'Aḳamah, and the office continued to be inherited in the family until they were deprived of it by 'Aly ibn Mahdy, on the dissolution at his hands of the Abyssinian dynasty (of the Banu Najāh).⁴

The liberated prisoners accompanied the army despatched by al-Ma'mūn to Baghdād against Ibrahīm, son of al-Mahdi. In A.H. 203 Ibn Ziyād and his companions performed the pilgrimage. He proceeded on his way to Yaman and conquered the Tihāmah (of Yaman).† after a war with the Arabs who inhabited that province. In Sha'ban, A.H. 204, the date of the death, at Miṣr (in Egypt), of the Jurist and Imām Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi'y (the mercy of God be upon him), Ibn Ziyād laid the foundations of the city of Zabīd.* In A.H. 205, Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyād, started from Yaman to perform the pilgrimage, carrying with him a considerable sum of money and presents. He proceeded to 'Irāk, where he was received in audience by al-Ma'mūn. He returned to Zabīd in 206, bringing with him one thousand horsemen, including seven hundred adherents of the Abbasides of Khurassān. The rule of Ibn Ziyād extended itself, and he became possessed of the whole of Yaman, both of the mountains and of the maritime provinces. Ja'far was appointed governor of al-Jibāl (the Highlands), where he founded a city known by the name of al-Mudhaykhirah, situated in the district of Raymat al-Ashā'ir, possessing streams of water and extensive gardens.⁵ The country over which

* The Mufti is the official expounder of religious law.

† For the word Tihāmāh, see *infra* (Geographical Index).

he ruled is known to this day under the name of the Mikhlāf of Ja'far. The word *Mikhlāf*, as used by the people of Yaman, signifies an extensive district. This Ja'far was a man of great capacity and astuteness. It was through him that the dynasty of Ibn Ziyād acquired its greatness, and for that reason Ibn Ziyād received a surname actually derived from the name of Ja'far. It was he who stipulated with the Arabs of Tihāmah that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyād became master of Ḥadramaut, of Diyār-Kindah, of Shihṛ, of Mirbāt, of Abyan, of Lahj, of Aden and of the maritime provinces on the Red Sea as far as Italy. From Italy to Mecca (may God guard it) is eight days' journey. He possessed also in the Highlands, Janad and its dependencies, Mikhlāf al-Ma'afir, Mikhlāf Ja'far, Ṣan'ā, Ṣa'dah, Najrān and Bayḥān. Ibn Ziyād and his posterity after him caused the Khutbah to be recited in the names of the Abbaside Khafifahs, and sent them tribute and valuable presents.

His descendants were Ibrāhīm, son of this same Muḥammad the first of the dynasty. Next after Ibrāhīm came his son Ibn Ziyād (Ziyād?), whose reign did not long endure. He was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk, son of Ibrāhīm, whose life was prolonged over a long period. When he had attained a great age, and his reign had endured for eighty years, some of the provinces separated themselves from his kingdom. Among those who manifested an evil disposition was the King of Ṣan'ā, a descendant of the Tubbas and of Ḥimyar. His name was As'ad ibn Ya'fur. The Khutbah was recited and the coinage was struck, in his province, in the name of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ibn Ziyād; but As'ad paid him neither voluntary offerings nor contributions of stores nor tribute. His revenues did not exceed 400,000 (dinārs) a year, most of which

he expended in charitable deeds and in hospitality.* The rulers of Bayhūn, of Najrān, and of Jurash⁹ were likewise subject to Ibn Ziyād. As for Sa'dah, it became the scene of the revolt of the Ḥasanite Sherif (al-Ḥādī Yahya) known by the surnames of the *Rassite* and the *Zeydite*. It would not be proper to relate his history at this place, although¹⁰ . . . there is not in all Yaman a larger, pleasanter, or more populous city than San'a. It is situated on the equator, and enjoys a temperate climate, so that no person requires throughout the course of his life to move his residence from one spot to another, 5 either for winter or for summer, and the length of the days in either season is almost the same. It contains a large building, now in ruins and reduced to a high mound. It is known by the name of Ghumdān. None of the (later) kings of Yaman have built a palace like unto it, or so lofty.

In the kingdom of As'ad ibn Yafur, Prince of San'a, is the mountain Mudhaykhirah, and it has been reported to me that it is about twenty parasangs in height. It contains cultivated lands and (running) waters, and it produces the plant known as *Wars*,† similar to saffron. The mountain is accessible by only one road.

Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl the Dā'y, (was?) known as the Sheykh of Lā'ah, and this place Lā'ah, which adjoins it, is a pretty village known as 'Aden-Lā'ah.¹¹ It is not the same as the seaport of 'Aden-Abyan. I have visited 'Aden-Lā'ah. It is the place at which the Alide supremacy was first proclaimed in Yaman, and thence issued forth Mansūr al-Yaman. The Dā'y Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was a native of the place, and among others who came to it was Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shiya'i, who proclaimed the Alide su-

* Cf. Ibn Haukal, p. 20.

† Memecylon tinctorium (Freytag).

premacy in North Africa. It was there also that 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, studied in his youth. It was one of the centres of the Alide mission in Yaman.

* Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl, whom I have here mentioned, conquered Mount Mudhaykhirah and established there the Khutbah in the name of the Alides in the year 340 (read 291 ?). Then it was retaken by the people of As'ad ibn Abi Ya'fur, but the followers of Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl again recovered possession of it.

The mountain of Shibām was situated in the dominions of As'ad ibn Abi Ya'fur, Prince of San'ā. It is a strong place of defence, containing villages and cultivated lands, as also a great mosque, and it forms an independent government. Cornelian and onyx are found upon it. These are hard stones, the beauty of which appears when they are cut.

Among other governors of Abu 'l-Jaysh son of Ziyad, who revolted, was Suleymān ibn 'Tarf, ruler of 'Aththar. He was one of the Princes of Tihāmah. His dominions extended over a length of seven days' journey by two in width, namely, from ash-Sharjah to Ḥah. His annual revenues amounted to 500,000 ('Aththariyah) dinārs. Although he refused to attend in person at the Court of Ibn Ziyād, he caused the Khutbah to be recited and the coinage to be struck in the name of that Prince. He paid him also an annual tribute and sent him presents, but I know not the amount thereof.

Among the Princes of Tihāmah who, like Ibn 'Tarf, recited the Khutbah and struck the coinage in the name of Ibn Ziyād and paid him a fixed amount of tribute, was al-Ḥarāmī, ruler of Ḥah, a Prince of inferior power to that of Ibn 'Tarf.

The portion of Yaman that remained subject to Ibn Ziyād in his old age extended in length from

ash-Sharjah to Aden, a distance of twenty days' journey, and from Ghulāfīkah to Ṣan'ā, five days' journey. I have seen a statement of the revenues of Ibn Ziyād in A.H. 366, and notwithstanding the reductions they had undergone, they amounted to a million of 'Aththariyah dinārs.¹² This did not include various duties he levied upon ships from India, nor contributions of musk, camphor, ambergris (spikenard), sandal-wood and china. It was exclusive also of taxes levied upon ambergris on the shores of Bāb al-Māndab, at Aden, at Abyan, and at ash-Shiḥr and other places, and exclusive of imposts on the pearl fisheries, and of tribute imposed upon the ruler of the city (read island) of Dahlak, comprising, among others, one thousand head of slaves, whereof five hundred were Abyssinian and Nubian female slaves. The Kings of the Abyssinians, on the further side of the sea, sent him offerings of presents and sought his alliance.

Abu 'l-Jaysh died in the year 371, leaving a child of the name of 'Abd Allah, or, as it is also said, of the name of Ziyād. The guardianship of the child was assumed by his sister Hīnū, daughter of Abu 'l-Jaysh, and by one of the slaves of Abu 'l-Jaysh, an Abyssinian eunuch of the name of Rushd. The latter [did not long survive, but he] possessed a Nubian slave known by the name of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, Salāmah being the name of Ḥusayn's mother. Ḥusayn grew up a man of ability and resolute character, and abstemious in his habits. On the death of his master Rushd he became wazīr to the son of Abu 'l-Jaysh and to the Prince's sister Hind. The outlying provinces of their dominions had fallen into a state of decay, and the governors of the fortresses in the Highlands had possessed themselves of the districts entrusted to them.

The Kā'id Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah made war upon the mountain chiefs and compelled them to submit.

Ibn Ṭarf and Ibn al-Ḥarāmi also re-entered into subjection. Ibn Ṣalāmah recovered the original limits of the kingdom, and he founded the cities of al-Kadrā on the Wādī Sahām, and of al-Ma'kir on 7 the Wādī Dhuwāl. He was a just ruler, profuse in bestowing alms and donations for the love of God (whose name he exalted), and following generally in his conduct the example of (the Khalifah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. He ruled for thirty years, and died in A.H. 402.¹³

Among the splendid works executed by Ḥusayn ibn Ṣalāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Ḥaḍramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in parasangs and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibām and Ṭarīm, two cities of Ḥaḍramaut.* A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahj, a distance of twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalifah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, which was restored by Ḥusayn ibn Ṣalāmah.

From Aden the road to Mecca divides itself into two, one of which ascends the mountains and the other passes through the low country (Tihāmah). The highland road is bordered by the mosque of

* See note 11. Of Ṭarīm, al-Ḥamdāni merely says that it was a large city (p. 87, l. 17).

al-Hawah (al-Juwah?),* a large building, which I have seen in good order, as erected by Husayn ibn Salāmah. Of the other mosques on the highland road, I have seen that of al-Janad, which is like unto the mosque of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn at Miṣr. There stood formerly on its site a pretty mosque originally erected by Mu'ādh ibn Jubal, on his being sent to Yaman. Mu'ādh was one of the companions of the Apostle of God, upon whom be blessings and peace.¹ The people of Janad and of the surrounding villages relate singular stories touching the merits of that mosque. They affirm that a visit paid to it, in the first week of the month of Rajab, is equivalent to a visit to the holy places of Mecca, or even to the performance of the rites of pilgrimage. The custom of annually resorting to it grew, until at length the practice was regarded as one of the religious ceremonies attending the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the building was looked upon by the people as a sacred place of resort. If one man owe a debt to another, he will beg to be allowed to remain undisturbed until after the pilgrimage, by which he simply means the visit to al-Janad. Next is Dhu Ashrak, where there is a mosque with the following inscription, carved in stone over the entrance: *One of the mosques the erection of which was ordered by 'Omar son of 'Abd al-'Azīz son of Marwān.* Next is the city of Ibb, then an-Nakīl, then Dhamār. [Thence to Ṣan'ā is a distance of five days' (?) journey, at each of which a station has been built.] Then the mosque of Ṣan'ā, a large building. From Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah is ten days' journey [with a mosque at each stage], and from Ṣa'dah to Ṭā'if, seven days. At each interval of a day's journey there are a mosque and reservoirs for water. Then the traveller reaches the pass of Ṭā'if, which occupies a day to him who

* For al-Juwah, see note 111, the latter part.

ascends from Mecca, and half a day to him that goes down to the city. The road was constructed by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah of such width that three laden camels can travel abreast upon it.

The above is the highland road. The Tihāmah (low country) road likewise divides itself into two branches. One, the maritime road, extends along the coast. The other, the royal highway, runs half-way between the coast and the mountains. The two roads diverge from Tihāmah (Aden?), and upon both, at each interval of a day's journey, stands a great mosque. On the maritime road stands al-Makhnak, at a distance of one night's journey from Aden. It has a well eighty (thirty) fathoms in depth, which I have several times visited, as also a ruined mosque. Then al-'Ārah, then 'Athr, and next as-Sukya, with a mosque, and a well forty fathoms in depth. Then Bāb al-Māndab, and then Mokha. Then as-Suhāri, al-Khauḥah, al-Aḥwāb, Ghulāfikah, Bī'ah (?), al-Jardah (al-Ḥirdah), az-Zar'ah (?), ash-Sharjah, al-Mufajjar (al-Hajar?), al-Kandir (?), and 'Aththar, which is the seat of an ancient kingdom.¹⁵ Then ad-Duwaymah, Ḥamidah, Dhahabāp, Ḥali, as-Sirrayn and Juddah. These are the mosques on the maritime road, every one of which I have seen either in good repair or in ruins.

On the middle road stand Dhāt al-Khayf 9 (Khubayt?), Mauza', al-Jadūn (?), Ḥays, Zabīd, Fashāl, ad-Ḥijā' (written with Kisra to the letter Dad), al-Kahmah, al-Kadrā, which was the residence of Ibn Salāmah and was founded by him, al-Jaththah, 'Irk an-Nasham, al-Mahjam, Maur, al-Wādiyāni, Jizān, al-Musā'id, Ta'shar, al-Mabny, Riyah and al-Fajr. Then the royal highway and the maritime road unite. They diverge on leaving as-Sirrayn. Thence to Mecca are five days' journey. The first building erected by Ibn Salāmah

which is reached by the pilgrims, is Bayn (Bīr?) ar-Riyāḍah, then Sabakhat al-Ghufrāb, next al-Lith. Then they reach Wādī Yalamlam, where there is a well with an abundant supply of drinking water, ten fathoms in depth and five or six in width. Here the travellers separate into two parties. Those whose destination is Mecca find on their way Ibn Salāmah's buildings at Birād, next al-Bayḍā, then al-Ḳarīn, and finally Mecca. Those proceeding to 'Arafāt reach a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah in Wādī ar-Rahm, thence to Na'man, and then 'Arafāt. He built also a mosque on Jabal ar-Rahmah, at 'Arafāt. May God have mercy upon him !¹⁶

I have been informed by the Fākih (Jurist) Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allah ibn Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Abbār, under whom I studied the Shāfi'y doctrines, that the following incident was related to him by his father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The same was reported to me by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Aly al-'Absi, and by al-Mukry (the Kur'un reader) al-Husayn, grandson of Husayn, son of Salāmah. All these attained the age of nearly one hundred years. They relate that people were, on a certain occasion, assembling in crowds to attend the morning reception of Husayn ibn Salāmah, when a man approached and said unto him: "The Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and peace) hath commanded me to come unto thee, that thou mayest pay me one thousand dinārs." "It may be," answered Husayn, "that the Evil Spirit hath visited thee in a false shape." "It is not so," replied the man, "and the sign between me and thee is, that for twenty years past, thou hast every night, two hundred times invoked blessings on the Apostle." Husayn, on hearing these words, wept and exclaimed: "This I swear by Allah is a true sign, for none knew of it but God alone !" And he ordered the money to be paid.¹⁷

The following anecdote has moreover been re-

ported to me by the Jurist Abu 'Aly ibn Talīk, 10 who was a pious man and eminent scholar, and who inhabited the city of al-Ma'kir. It had been related to him, he said, by his father and by others his predecessors, all members of families distinguished for learning and for sober living. A man, it was said, complained in that valley, to Husayn ibn Salāmah, who was on his way from Zabīd to al-Kadrā, that he had been robbed of a leathern bag, containing one thousand or, as it is also said, two thousand dinārs. This, he said, had occurred in Wādī Maur, which is several days distant from the place where he made his complaint. Husayn ordered the man to be brought to him, and made him sit down among his followers (in the mosque of al-Kadrā). He rose to perform his devotions, and he prolonged them to an unusual length. He then lay down in the Mihrāb and slept, and the people gradually crowded towards the spot from all parts of the mosque. The narrator's father said that he was one of those who approached nearest to the Prince, and he heard him command one of his followers to proceed with the man to such and such a village on the coast, to receive the property from so and so, son of so and so, and to do that person no harm. "For," he said, "the Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and salutations of peace) hath interceded for him, informing me that the person in question is one of his descendants, and hath acquainted me with the facts of the case." The history of Husayn and a relation of his good deeds in Yaman, would fill volumes.

Sovereignty over the dominions of the Banu Ziyād then passed on to a child of the family, whose name I do not know, but I believe it to have been 'Abd Allah (read Ibrahim?). He was placed under the guardianship of a paternal aunt and of a eunuch of

the name of Marjān, one of the slaves of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, who exercised the office of wazīr. He had two Abyssinian slaves, vigorous men, whom he had brought up from their childhood, and whom, on their attaining manhood, he appointed to the administration of affairs. One bore the name of Nafis,* and was entrusted with the direction of affairs at the capital. The other was named Najāh, and he was the ancestor of the kings of Zabīd, whose dynasty was brought to an end by 'Aly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 554. He was father of the king Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, the slayer of the Amīr 'Aly ibn Muḥammad as-Sulayḥi, who was Dā'y (guardian and propagator) in Yaman of the Fatimite doctrines and of the supremacy of the (Egyptian) Khalīfat, at that time held by al-Mustansīr. Najāh was likewise father of the most excellent and righteous King Abu 't-Tīb (read Abu 't-Tāmi) Jayyāsh, in whose hands and in the hands of whose descendants, supreme authority remained until the above-mentioned date.

- 11 Najāh ruled over al-Kadrā, al-Mahjam, Ma'ur and al-Wadiāni, and these four districts are the finest provinces north of Zabīd. Jealousy arose between him and Nafis touching the exercise of the office of wazīr at the capital. Nafis was of a tyrannical disposition and was dreaded by the people, whilst Najāh was merciful, righteous, and beloved. Their master, Marjān, nevertheless inclined unto Nafis, and favoured him at the expense of Najāh. It was intimated to the former that the aunt of his master Ibn Ziyād, was in correspondence with Najāh, and that she favoured him. Nafis complained thereof to Marjān, who laid hands upon the Princess and upon her brother's son, and delivered them to Nafis.

The young Prince in question was the last of his

* See note 13, last par.

race. With him the dynasty of the Banu Ziyād came to an end in Yaman, and their power passed into the hands of men, originally their slaves. The dynasty endured two hundred and three years (read two hundred and six years, A.H. 203 to 409), for they founded Zabīd in A.H. 204, and the dynasty ended in A.H. 409.

Nafīs, having gained possession of the Princess and of her nephew, caused them to be immured. They stood, praying for mercy, and adjuring him in the name of God Most High, so long as an aperture remained, and until the wall was completely closed upon them.

When the Ziyādites received tidings of the weakened condition of the Abbaside Khalīfate, of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil (in A.H. 247), and of the deposition of al-Musta'in (in A.H. 252), they appropriated to themselves the entire revenues of Yaman and, when riding forth, the royal umbrella was borne over them;¹⁸ but they tranquillized the minds of their subjects, by continuing the recitation of the Khutbah in the name of the Abbasides. When Nafīs murdered Ibrāhīm (or 'Abd Allāh), son of his master, and the boy's aunt, he assumed the royal dignity, adopted the use of the umbrella, and struck the coinage in his own name.

Najāh, on hearing of the treatment his master had undergone at the hands of Nafīs, summoned his neighbours to his assistance, Arabs and non-Arabs. He marched upon Zabīd, and repeated battles were fought between the two rivals—the battles of Rima' and of Bāshāl, in both which Najāh was worsted, that of al-'Ukdah in which he was victorious, and that of al-'Irak in which Nafīs was killed near the Gate of Zabīd, with the loss on the two sides of five thousand men. Najāh captured the city of Zabīd in the month of Dhū 'l-Ḳa'dah of the year

— . . . —

412. He then asked Marjān: "What⁴ hath Nafis
 12 done with thine own and our masters?" "They
 are in that wall," he replied. Najāh removed the
 bodies, prayed over them, and erected a mausoleum
 over their place of burial. Marjān was immured
 alive along with the corpse of Nafis, in the wall in
 which the two bodies were found.

Najāh now adopted the use of the royal umbrella
 and struck the coinage in his own name. He
 entered into correspondence with the supreme
 authorities in 'Irāk, tendering them his submission,
 and he received the title of *al-Mu'ayyad Nāṣir*
ad-Dīn. He was empowered to appoint as Kādi
 whomsoever he chose, and to administer all the
 affairs of the country of Yaman. He continued to
 rule over Tihāmah, and to exercise control over
 most of the people of the Highlands, and he was
 styled King, both in the Khutbah and in official
 documents, with the title of *Our Lord*. He had
 several children, among whom were Sa'īd, Jayyāsh,
 Mu'ārik, adh-Dhakhīrah and Manṣūr.

But the governors appointed by Ḥusayn ibn
 Salāmah in the Highlands, seized upon the mountain
 fortresses.¹⁹ Aḍen, Abyan, Lahj, ash-Shihṛ and
 Ḥadramaut were taken by the Banu Ma'n, who, I
 believe, were not descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah
 the Shaybānite.²⁰ Samadān, a place of greater
 strength than Dumlūwah, also the fortress of Sawā,
 that of Dumlūwah, the fortresses of Ṣabir, of
 Dhakhir, of Ta'kar (which commands Janad), also
 the provinces of Janad (Ja'far), of 'Unnah and of
 al-Ma'āfir were appropriated by a family, descended
 from Ḥimyar, known as the Banu 'l-Kurādī. They
 achieved distinction by generous and noble deeds, by
 their powerful rule and brilliant estate. The fortress
 of Ḥabb, which is like unto at-Ta'kar, that which
 bears the name of 'Azzān, that of Beyt 'Izz, that
 of as-Sa'r (ash-Sha'ir), a great fortress, that of Nūr

(Anwar), *as-Nakīl*, and *as-Sahūl*, the fortresses of Khadid, and of *ash-Shawāki* (Shawāfi). All these were conquered by the Sultān Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y, and by his son. *Sahūl* is the place in which the cloth known by the name of *Sahūliyah* is woven, of which two pieces were used as winding-sheets for the Apostle. The valley belongs to the Banu Aṣḥab, a tribe to which the Jurist Mālik al-Aṣḥabī, Imām of the City of the Flight, belonged.²¹ Sultān Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn is he who contrived the stratagem whereby Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāh, who had killed the Amīr 'Alī, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, was himself slain. The province of Uhāzah (also called Wuhūzah), of which the seat of government is the stronghold of Baybars (Yarīs?), was likewise appropriated. Among its other fortresses are Dahwan (Zahrān), Yafūz, Sha'r (Sha'b'r), and al-Khadrā. Its chief city is Shāḥit. Nizār, son of the Jurist Zayd ibn al-Husayn al-Wuhāzi, wrote the following lines on the Sultān of the country :—

They told us the Sultān was at Shāḥit.—He ascends the mountains from the barren plains.

I asked, Does the Sultān occupy the highest point?—Nay, they answered, he has gone down.²²

The fortresses of Wuhūzah were conquered by the Banu Wā'il, who are descendants of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. They are an ancient family of chieftains, but their people are a silly folk, who imagine themselves to be absolutely the noblest race descended from Adam. I may mention that I was once on a hot summer's day travelling along the road from the market of Jabḥab (Jabjab), the greatest market held in the district, when I was overtaken by two horsemen of the tribe, who were urging on their horses with their heels, and whose lances were held by the ridors pointed in my direction. I alighted from the beast upon which I was mounted, and I

climbed up the side of the hill. The horsemen, on reaching me, said that the question who are the noblest descendants of Adam was in dispute between them, and that they had agreed to abide by my decision. One of them maintained that the Banu Wā'il are absolutely superior to every other race. The second contended that the Banu Wā'il and Banu Kuraysh are equal in nobility. To rid myself of them I replied that the Apostle (upon whom be blessings and peace) is the noblest of all mankind, and that the Banu Wā'il exceed in nobility the tribe of Kuraysh. One of the two men answered: "By Allah, hadst thou spoken otherwise, thou hadst not escaped me!" and thereupon they left me. The Sulṭān As'ad ibn Wā'il ibn 'Isa, celebrated for his generosity and the theme of exuberant praise, is a member of the tribe of Wā'il.

The fortress of Ashyah, seat of the King and Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad the Sulayhite, and the fortress of Wuṣāb and its territories, were conquered by a family belonging to the tribe of Bakil,²³ descended from Hamdān. Ṣan'ā and its dependencies were conquered by a Hamdanite family. That of 'Abd al-Wāhid seized the provinces of Bura', al-'Aināḍ, and Lī'san. They possessed themselves also of the fortress of Masār, which has no equal in Yaman, with the exception only of at-Ta'kar, of Samadān, and Habb. It was at Masār, in Harāz, that aṣ-Sulayḥi first arose proclaiming the supremacy of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustansir. Harāz is the name of the district, and its inhabitants are designated after it. They are closely allied with the tribe of Hamdān, and it was with their support that the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, raised himself to power.²⁴

THE HISTORY OF THE DĀ'Y 'ALY, SON OF MUḤAMMAD THE SULAYHITE. THENCE PROCEEDS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE HISTORY OF YAMAN, AND THEREWITH THE SUBJECTS OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS BOOK, TOUCHING THE KĀDĪS, THE DĀ'Ys, THE DISTINGUISHED MEN AND THE POLTS OF THE COUNTRY ARE CLOSELY CONNECTED.

THE Kādi Muhammad son of 'Aly, father of the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, was a follower of the Sunni doctrines, and he exercised great influence over the men of Ḥarūz, who were 40,000 in number. When the office of Dā'y was transferred to 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allah az-Zawāhī (ar-Rawāhī?), so named after a village in the province of Ḥarūz,²¹ he applied himself to win the favour of the Kādi Muḥammad ibn 'Aly, father of the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muḥammad, the Sulayhite. Az-Zawāhī was in the habit of riding to the dwelling-place of the Kādi, who was a man of authority, holding the dignity of a chief, and both virtuous and learned. He steadily persevered in his designs and finally won the affection of the Kādi's son 'Aly, then below the age of puberty, in whom he had perceived signs of future greatness. It is said that 'Āmir possessed a description of aṣ-Sulayhī, contained in the *Kitāb aṣ-Suwar* (Book of Delineations), one of the treasures of the ('Obaydite) Imāms, upon whom be peace.²² He made known to 'Aly the revelations contained in the book touching the destinies reserved for him in the future, and the noble career he was to fulfil. He did this secretly, without the knowledge of the youth's father and family. Az-Zawāhī ere long died, bequeathing to 'Aly his writings and his learning. Before his death

'Aly's mind had become deeply impressed by az-Zawāhī's teaching. He was highly intelligent, and applied himself to study. Ere he had reached the age of manhood, he had become filled with know-
 15 ledge, by means of which and of good fortune, he attained the highest objects of his ambition. He was learned in the jurisprudence of the Imperial sect, and versed in the science of (mystical) interpretation (of the *Kur'ān*). He began his career as leader of the pilgrims, for several years, by way of as-Sarāt * and 'Iṣṭīf. He alone led the pilgrimage during that time, and in his early years his condition gradually rose from lowliness to exaltation, from poverty to wealth. Illustrations thereof were related to me by the Jurist Abū 'l-Ḥusayn 'Aly ibn Suleymān. He was a man of advanced age, a poet, author of the following lines referring to 'Omar ibn 'Adnān the 'Akkite :—

Though my night watchings be attended with forebodings of evil—
 (yet I know that) Ibn 'Adnān will be unto me a protector
 from oppression.†

Similar circumstances were related to me also by az-Zibrikān ibn al-Fuwaykar (Ghuwayfar?), the 'Akkite, on the authority of a certain poet. He was the author of the following lines, part of an ode in which he satirized his own people :—

Who will buy the 'Akkites at the cost of a copper ?—
 Behold I will sell them all, absolutely, and without the option of
 cancelling the bargain.

Both these men and other persons have repeated to me an anecdote related by the Kādi 'Omar ibn al-Murajjal, who bore the surname of the *Ḥanafite* and belonged to that school of religion, and who was a distinguished scholar. He said that near the gate

* For the words Sarāt and Sarawūt, see *infra* (Geographical Index).

† The accuracy of these lines, as they stand in the MS., is, I think, very doubtful.

of Zabīd, within the walls, there was the house of an Abyssinian of the name of Faraj as-Sahrati (the Sahrīte), a man of benevolence and of exceeding charity. Whoever entered his mosque he welcomed and entertained. His thoughts were occupied with his guests, and he was in the habit of entering the mosque and of making private inquiries respecting them, without the knowledge of his agents and servants. He went forth one night and found in the mosque a person occupied in reading the *Qur'ān*. He questioned him touching his evening meal, and the man in reply recited the following lines of al-Mutanabbi:—

Who hath taught the mutilated negro the performance of generous
deeds?—

His noble-minded masters or his enslaved forefathers? ”

The Abyssinian took the man with him. He led him to the chief room of his house, and treated him with the most liberal hospitality. He asked his guest the reason of his journey to Tihāmah. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥī replied that he had a paternal (read maternal) uncle named Shihāb, whose daughter Asmā had few equals in beauty, and was unmatched
16 in literary culture and intelligence. He had asked her in marriage, and had been met with a demand for dowry exceeding in its amount the bounds of moderation, her mother urging that she should be married to none other but to one of the Hamḍanite Kings of Ṣan'ā, or to one of the kings of the family of the Banu Kurandi in Mikhlaḥ Ja'far. They, in short, exacted a sum which it was wholly beyond his power to command. He was now, he added, on his way either to the Banu Ma'n at Aden, or to the Banu Kurandi in the district of al-Ma'āfir. The *Kū'id* Faraj as-Sahrati, continued the narrator, supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount that aṣ-Ṣulayḥī actually paid. The bride

and bridegroom were equipped on a scale such as kings strive to provide when allying themselves with women of the most noble lineage. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi returned, by direction of the Abyssinian, to his uncle and married Asma. She was the mother of the king al-Mukarram, husband of the Lady, the Queen Sayyidah (the Lady Arwa?), daughter of Aḥmad the Sulayḥite. Asmā was of a generous and noble disposition, liberal in the rewards she bestowed upon poets, and in the large sums she granted in furtherance of the service of God, of acts of benevolence, and of other good deeds. The renown of her splendid virtues extended to her children, her brothers, and her kindred. Her husband's poet, named As'ad ibn Yāḥya al-Ḥaythami, spoke of her in the following terms, in an ode which commences with the words: "She of the white hands hath bestowed gifts:"

She hath impressed upon beneficence the stamp of generosity—(Of meanness she allows no trace to appear

I say when people magnify the throne of Bulḳis-- Asmā hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars."

Among other anecdotes of the Dā'y 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi is that related to me by Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn al-Amawī, surnamed ibn as-Saḥāḥ (as-Sabkḥah?). He held it from his father, who had been told the story by my informant's grandfather. He dwelt, he said, in the city of Ḥays, distant a night's journey from Zabīd. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, on conquering Zabīd, rode to the Court of the Kāḍi, and delivered to him a judicial deposition he had sworn in the days of his youth. Then, after some private conversation with the Kāḍi, he took his leave. After the Amīr's departure, the Kāḍi repeated what had been told him by the Prince. He had on one occasion, he related, come to the city of Ḥays for the purpose of gaining
17 intelligence touching the two slaves of Marjān, Nafis, and Najāḥ. He was met by a person who

knew him, whereupon he changed his garb, and assumed the dress of an oil-presser, a seller of oil at one of the oil-mills of Hays. The statement of evidence referred to, he took to the house of a man of the name of as-Sabkhah. After he attained supreme power, an aged woman came to him with the paper in his handwriting. He immediately recognized it, and could allow himself no rest until he had fulfilled his obligation. His deposition, he said, was in precise accordance with what he had written at the time he undertook the duty. 'Aly ibn Muḥammad, Kadi of Harāz, bore witness to the truth of this anecdote, and he committed it to writing with his own hand, that under the will of God Most High, it might be borne in remembrance.

• Another anecdote of as-Sulayḥi, relating to the commencement of his career, was told me by the Sultan Nāsir, son of Maṣṣur the Wā'ilite, who held it from his grandfather 'Isa ibn Yazīd. 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, was, he said, leader of the pilgrimage by the road of the Surawāt for fifteen (years). The people were in the habit of telling him, when he first rose to eminence, that according to what had come to their knowledge, he was destined to reign over the whole of Yaman, to earn a great name, and to be the founder of a dynasty. As-Sulayḥi censured and disavowed what was thus said to him, though it was a thing that had spread far and wide among the people, and was on the lips of all, both high and low.

In the year 429, as-Sulayḥi raised his standard on the summit of Masār, the highest peak of the mountains of Harāz. He was then at the head of sixty men, from whom he had received an oath of fidelity at Mecca in A.H. 428, during the celebration of the pilgrimage ceremonies of the month of Dhū 'l-Hijjah. They had sworn to stand by him unto death, in support of his work as Dayy for the establishment

of the Ismailite doctrines. Every one of his companions was a member of his family, and of his tribe, which comprised numerous and distinguished men. No building existed on the summit of the mountain. It was a peak, forming a defensive position of great natural strength. Before noon of the day following the night on which aṣ-Ṣulayḥī seized upon the spot, he was surrounded and besieged by 20,000 swordsmen, who reviled and insulted him. "Come down," they said, "or we will cause you and all that are with you to perish by famine." He told them in reply that all he had done was occasioned by his apprehensions for their own safety, as well as for the protection of himself and of his companions. If, he added, they would leave him, he would guard the place. If not, he would come down to them. Thereupon they departed.

Before the expiration of many months, he had erected buildings on the mountain and had strongly fortified the place. He remained at Masār, gradually increasing in power, from the year 429, the commencement of his career, concealing his purpose, that of winning adherents to the Ismailite supremacy.

18 He lived in dread of Najāḥ, the Prince of Tihāmāh, but sought to win his favour, assuming a humble demeanour, but never desisting in his efforts against him, until he succeeded in bringing about the death of Najāḥ by poison, with the help of a beautiful female slave whom he sent as a present to his rival. Najāḥ died at al-Kadrā in the year 452.

Aṣ-Ṣulayḥī wrote to the Imām al-Mustansir (at Cairo),²⁰ asking permission to make open proclamation of the Ismailite doctrines and supremacy. He received an answer granting his prayer. He rapidly overran the country and conquered both the (mountain) fortresses and the low country. Before the end of the year 455, he had subjected the whole of

Yaman to his authority. None of its plains or of its hills, of its lands or of its waters remained unsubdued. No parallel case can be found of so rapid a conquest, either in the days of ignorance or in the days of Islām. On a certain occasion when delivering the Khutbah (sermon) at al-Janād, he declared that on the day corresponding with that on which he spoke, he would, under the will of God, preach from the pulpit of Aden. A man exclaimed derisively, "O holy one, O worthy of praise!" Aṣ-Sulayhī ordered the man to be arrested, and on the day he had indicated, he preached the Khutbah from the pulpit of Aden. The same man thereupon exclaimed, "O twice worthy of praise, O twice holy!" and forthwith took the oath of allegiance and joined the Imperial sect.

From the year 455, the residence of aṣ-Sulayhī was established at San'ā. He brought thither the Yamanite kings whom he had deprived of their thrones, giving them places of abode near himself, and appointing governors over the strongholds they had formerly possessed. He built several palaces at San'ā. I was told by one of the citizens, Muḥammad ibn Bishārāh, in A.H. 535, when he stated himself to be nigh unto eighty years of age, that all the palaces of aṣ-Sulayhī were in ruins, and, he added, all who have built houses at San'ā, from that time down to the present, have made use of materials taken from aṣ-Sulayhī's palaces. Neither the brick nor the stone nor the timber have perished.

As to Zabīd and its dependencies in Tihāmah, aṣ-Sulayhī had sworn that he would appoint as governor only such as would pay him a sum of one hundred (thousand) dinārs. Afterwards he repented
19 of his oath and he desired to appoint his brother-in-law As'ad ibn Shihāb, brother of his wife Asma, daughter of Shihāb. She weighed out the money

to him on behalf of her brother. "My lady," he said, "*whence hast thou obtained this?*" "*It is the gift of God,*" she answered. "*Verily, God bestoweth His bounty upon whom He willeth, and taketh no account thereof.*" * As-Sulayhī smiled and understood that the money came from his own treasury. He received it saying: "*This is our property which hath come back unto us.*" † To which Asmā quickly added (in the remaining words of the verse), "*And we will provide for our kinsfolk and cure for our brother.*"

As'ad ibn Shibāh entered Zabīd in 456, and distinguished himself by his just treatment of his subjects. He protected the Sunnis in the public exercise of their religion. He established his residence in the palace of Shaḥar. This is a building against which the assaults of Ruin are made in vain, and which Decay, the most powerful of kings, is unable to subdue. It was erected by Shaḥar, son of Ja'far, the ruler of Mikhlāf Ja'far.

"I was one day reposing," said As'ad ibn Shibāh, "and, as I lay extended on my back, I reflected over my affairs. Behold, I said to myself, as-Sulayhī is a man held in the highest honour, who has appointed me ruler over Zabīd, and regards me as equal to Sulṭān As'ad ibn 'Aṭraf, to 'Āmir ibn Suleymān az-Zawāhī, and to such and such other kings. My Lady Asmā has overwhelmed me with kindness, and whenever I measure my deserts by the increasing flow of her favours, I perceive how unworthy I am of her benevolence. On the other hand, I am wholly averse to laying my hands tyrannically and extortionately upon my subjects and subordinates. Whilst occupied with these thoughts I fell asleep. I was awakened by dust that fell and sprinkled my face, and which was charged with

* Kur'ān, S. iii. v. 32.

† Kur'ān, S. xii. v. 65.

gold. I mounted upon the roof, and on examining it and the ceiling I found chests containing gold and silver and treasure exceeding in value three hundred thousand dinārs. I first set apart one third of the amount and expended it in works of charity. The second third I sent to the Lady Asmā, in discharge of my obligations to her. With the remainder I acquired unto myself goods and property, and I vowed unto God Most High that I would not oppress any of his creatures. I continued ruler of the province for fifteen years, and no arbitrary act
20 during that period is, within my knowledge, chargeable upon my conscience."

Continuing his narrative, As'ad ibn Shihāb stated that as-Sulayh appointed three men to assist him in the administration of the country, who, in the performance of their duties, obeyed his wishes by entirely abstaining from all unlawful interference with the property of the people. One of them was Ahmad ibn Salm, who had the superintendence of affairs from Wadī Harad to near Aḥen. He relieved As'ad of the cares proceeding from the contentions of local officials, and of the task of levying the imposts.

No sums were exacted from him excepting on distinct accounts, or in accordance with payments actually received. The second was the ḫāḍi Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abi 'Aḳamah, a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Harūn the Taghlblito, whom the Khalifah al-Ma'mūn appointed as Chief Judge over Yaman in conjunction with Ibn Ziyād. He was As'ad's deputy in administering the sacred law, and in the execution of his duties, he displayed sound judgment and effectually protected the people from wrong.* The third was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ibn

* The above doubtless conveys the general sense intended by the writer, but I am not able to translate the passage, as it stands in our text, without considerable hesitation.

Muḥammad al-Ḳumm, father of Ḥusayn ibn 'Aly ibn Muḥammad al-Ḳumm, the poet, and one of the most distinguished of men for generosity, for his fitness to command, and for his business abilities. He was, moreover, a distinguished poet, and it was he who wrote in a short piece the following line touching his brother, whom he reproached for the exaggerated affection he displayed towards his son Ḥusayn :—

Behold him ever watching—his sons. Truly all men are not manly.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly, it was stated by As'ad ibn Shihāb, was placed with him as wazīr and private secretary by his master, the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. The Prince and the Lady Asma gave him strict orders to decide nothing without first consulting 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm. "I used to send him each year," said Ibn Shihāb, "as my delegate to Ṣan'ā, accompanied by Aḥmad ibn Ṣālim, governor of Tihāmah. I levied every year from Tihāmah, in money alone, a sum of one million of dinārs, and my two friends invariably returned to me with presents from my master and mistress, amounting to fifty thousand dinars, which I divided with my followers."

Among other events in the life of the Amir 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, it is related, that in the year 460, he received intelligence that Ibn 'Uarf had been joined by the Kings of Abyssinia and by a
 21 mixed multitude of Africans. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi marched against them at the head of two thousand seven hundred horsemen. The two armies met at 'az-Zarū'ib, in the dominion of Ibn 'Uarf, the place in which I was born and which my family inhabits to the present day. The Arabs on the first day suffered severe losses. Then, however, Fortune turned against the Blacks, and their force was reduced to one thousand men,

whom my grandfather, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, received in his castle at 'Ukwah. *Al-'Ukwātānī* (the two 'Ukwahs) are two mountains of great natural strength, which no one would willingly attack. They are the places mentioned by the leader of the Caravan of pilgrims, when he says, addressing his eyes inflamed with want of sleep,—

When ye behold the two mountains of 'Akād,
And when the two 'Ukwah rise before you,
Rejoice, O weary eyes, at the prospect of rest.

The two mountains of 'Akād look down upon the city of az-Zarā'ib, and their inhabitants have preserved the Arabic language in its purity from pre-islamitic days, down to the present. Their speech has been preserved from corruption, through their refraining from intermarriage, or association with townspeople. They are a sedentary people, who do not wander or quit their homes.³⁰

I may mention that in the year 530, being then under twenty years of age, I came to Zabid for the purpose of studying jurisprudence. The Professors of all the Colleges were much surprised to find that I never committed a solecism in speaking. "I take oath by God Most High," said the Jurist Naṣr Allāh ibn Ṣalīm, "that this youth has made a deep study of grammar." After a considerable lapse of time, friendship having been established between us, he used, whenever we met, to exclaim: "Welcome be on whose account I have forsworn myself." When my father visited me at Zabid, along with seven of my brethren; I arranged a meeting between them and the Jurists. They conversed together and by Allāh, with one exception, no solecism was committed by my friends, whilst the author of that single inaccuracy of language was immediately reproved by his companions.

But let us return to the history of the Dā'y 'Alī

ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite. I myself have seen the bones and horses' hoofs, that are uncovered on the battle-field, and exposed to view whenever a
 22 violent wind blows. After visiting Zabid, aṣ-Sulayḥi returned to Ṣan'ā (may God guard it), and he remained there for twelve years without moving from the city.

Among other passages in the history of Yaman is the story of the slaughter of the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, an event which occurred on the twelfth of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the year 473, or as it is also said of the year 459, and the latter is the correct version.²¹ The Amir, the Glorious Dā'y, the Triumphant in the wars for the Faith, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, had appointed as governors over the fortresses and highlands persons whom he could trust. Having determined upon going to Mecca (may God Most High guard it), he resolved to take with him the kings (to whom he had given places of abode at Ṣan'ā), and also the Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, and mother of the king al-Mukarram. He made the latter governor of Ṣan'ā, and appointed him his deputy. He set forth at the head of two thousand horsemen, of whom one hundred and sixty were members of the Sulayḥi tribe. On reaching al-Mahjam he halted on a cultivated tract, near the outskirts of the city, known under the name of Umm ad-Duḥaym, and also under that of Bir (Well of) Umm Ma'bad. He encamped his soldiers, and placed around his own tent the Princes, among whom were Ma'n (read Aly?) ibn Ma'u, Ibn al-Kurandy, Ibn at-Tubba'y, Wā'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuhāzy, and others, all of whom he had brought with him for fear of their raising a revolt against him during his absence. Suddenly and without warning the news spread among his people, who were occupying themselves with their

personal affairs, scattered and divided into separate parties, that the Amir 'Aly and his brother 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite had both been beheaded. The troops were surrounded, and not a man escaped. Power passed into the hands of Sa'id, son of Najāh al-Aḥwal, who caused the men to be massacred by his spearmen. He spared Wā'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuḥāzy, Ibn Ma'n, and Ibn al-Kurandy, but he slew the others, and captured Asmā, daughter of Shihāb and mother of the king al-Mukarram. Sa'id then started from al-Mahjam on his way back
23 to Zabīd, with the two heads borne in front of the Princess's litter. On his arrival at Zabīd he raised them on high, opposite the casement of a house he assigned for her residence. And Asmā remained a full year the captive of Sa'id ibn Najāh.

HOW THE KING AL-MUKARRAM AHMAD, SON OF 'ALY, SON OF MUHAMMAD AṢ-SULAYH, SUPREME CHIEF OF THE ARABS, SULTĀN UNDER THE PRINCE OF THE FAITHFUL, PROCEEDED FROM SAN'Ā TO ZABĪD TO RELEASE HIS MOTHER ASMĀ, DAUGHTER OF SHIHĀB, FROM HER CAPTIVITY.

It is related that all attempts to transmit a letter from Asmā to al-Mukarram, or from him to his mother, having failed, the Princess herself devised an artifice whereby the object was accomplished. She hid a letter in a cake of bread, and contrived means by which it was given to a mendicant. The latter transmitted the letter to al-Mukarram; who received it in the month of Shawwāl of the year 475. The Princess wrote to her son as follows: "I am great with child by the squint-eyed slave

(al-Aḥwal).²² See that thou come unto me before my delivery. If not, everlasting disgrace will ensue."

Al-Mukarram, on reading the letter, assembled his friends and showed it them. They burst into lamentations, but soon became eager to vindicate the honour of their tribe. Al-Mukarram marched from San'ā at the head of a body of three thousand horsemen, whom he had sworn to fidelity, whose assistance he claimed, and whose spirit he stimulated by his addresses. He was an eloquent speaker and a brave warrior, widely known for his resolute character as well as for his bravery. No one in his day was his equal in strength and stature, or able to wield his arms, his lance, his sword, and his bow. At each halting-place he exhorted the people, saying that whosoever cared only for the preservation of his life should not be one of them. Sixteen hundred horsemen * from among his allies steadfastly adhered to him, and fourteen hundred drew back.

I have been told by the Sheykh and Jurist al-Mukri (the Qur'ān teacher) Sulcymān son of Yā-Sīn that the following anecdote was related to him by the pious Sheykh Muḥammad son of 'Ulayyah. "I was on a certain Friday," said Sheykh Muḥammad, "at near the hour of daybreak, in the mosque of Turaybah. The country people had taken refuge 24 in the city of Zabid out of fear of the Arabs. I was engaged in a recitation of the entire Qur'ān, and had reached the chapter commencing with the words, *By the Heavens containing the mansions of the stars.*† I had no other occupation and the mosque in which I sat, stood on a desolate spot. I was suddenly startled by the arrival of a horseman, whom I could not distinctly see on account of the still lingering darkness. He deposited his lance on the ground, with its point resting against the wall

* Or, according to Janadi, three thousand.

† Qur'ān, S. lxxxv.

of the western aisle, in which I was seated. Then he dismounted, and a person approached me, than whom I have seen none among the sons of Adam of more perfect form, or of more noble appearance, a man of kingly aspect. Standing up at my side he performed his morning devotions. The early light soon began to shine, and I perceived that the stem of his lance was a Kulamite cane (or bamboo), an equal to which could not be met with.* His horse resembled (in its powerful appearance) a beast of burden. He desired me to finish the section of the *Kur'ân* upon which I was engaged. I obeyed and he listened to my chanting. He then desired me to pray. I did so, and to each of my petitions he responded with ejaculations of *Amen*. The sun now rose, and horsemen began to issue forth in detachments and troops from the hollows of the plain. Each party as it came forward saluted the Chief and then stood still. The words they used were, '*God grant a day of bounteous grace unto our Lord, and perpetuate his renown!*' In his reply he confined himself to the words, '*Welcome, ye Arab nobles!*' On their number being complete, certain persons came forth unto him at the mosque. The only one known to me was As'ad ibn Shibab, with whom I was acquainted, seeing that he had been governor over us citizens of Zabîd. I inquired of him who were these persons. 'That man,' he answered, 'is al-Mukarram, al-Malik as-Sa'id (the auspicious king) Ahînad ibn 'Aly, the Sulayhite, that is al-Karam † the Yâmite, and that is 'Âmir az-Zawâhî, the most generous Arab that ever bestrode a horse.' The men called upon a fourth to come forward, but he declined. He was the

* *Kulamî* I take to signify imported from Kulam, now known as Quilon, on the Malabar coast. See *Ibn Khordadbeh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62, also Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 312, note.

† 'Abbâs son of al-Karam?

paternal uncle of As‘ad ibn Shihāb and of the Lady Asmā, and not inferior to the other four in nobility of race or in personal merit. Then al-Mukarram arose and addressed them, speaking so that he could be clearly heard. The following passage of his speech has remained in my memory :—

25 ‘O ye believers, if the undertaking upon which ye have entered were but newly resolved upon, I would of a certainty seek to sharpen your determination. But I will not now add to what ye heard from me yesterday, and to what I have said before yesterday. The words I have spoken are sufficient. I offered you the option of returning when the distance ye had travelled still permitted you to draw back. But now the choice is with your enemy. Ye have penetrated into his country as into a lion’s den, and your only alternatives are to encounter death or to suffer dishonour by unavailing flight.’ ”

He then recited the words of Abu ‘t-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi, as follows :—

“ Grasping my death-dealing sword, I will go down among my
focs, —
A field whence only they return who deal effectual blows.” *

The Abyssinians had assembled to the number of twenty thousand foot. The right wing of the Arab force was under the command of As‘ad ibn Shihāb, and the left under that of his uncle. “Ye are not,” said al-Mukarram, “like unto the other members of this army. Ye have personal wrongs to avenge, for our lady is sister to one of you and niece to the other.” Al-Mukarram himself took command of the centre. The two armies entered into action. The centre of the Abyssinians fought strenuously for a time, but the two wings closed upon them. The Abyssinians were defeated, and immense numbers were slain. Sa‘id ibn Najāh and those surrounding him fled from the field and took refuge in Dahlak and its neighbouring islands. The slaughter of the Abyssinians, near the gate of the

* See Diesterici’s *Mutanabbi*, p. 463.

city, ceased not until the hour of midday prayer. The first warrior to reach the spot where the two heads were set up, and to stand below the casement of Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, was her son, al-Mukarram Ahmad. He said unto her, and she did not recognize him, "May God safeguard and perpetuate thy renown, O our lady." "Welcome," she replied, "O noble Arab!" Al-Mukarram's two companions saluted her in the same words as his. She asked him who he was, to which he answered that his name was Ahmad, son of 'Aly son of Muḥammad. "Verily the name Ahmad son of 'Aly," she answered, "is borne by many Arabs. Uncover thy face that I may know thee." He raised his helmet, whereupon she exclaimed, "Welcome, our Lord al-Mukarram!"

At that moment he was struck by the wind, a shudder passed over him, and his face was contracted by a spasm. He lived many years 26 thereafter, but continued subject to involuntary movements of the head and spasms in his face. She then asked who were his two companions, and he named them. Upon one she conferred a grant of the revenues of Aden for that year, amounting to one hundred thousand dinārs. To the other she gave the two fortresses of Kawkabān and Ḥaubān (?), together with their territories, the assessments upon which are not inferior to the revenues of Aden.

Then the army entered by detachments, whilst she stood at the casement with her face uncovered. Such had been her custom in the days of her husband, a sign of her exalted rank over the men from whom other women are secluded. Al-Mukarram ordered the two heads to be taken down; and he erected over them a mausoloum, which I have known as the Mausoleum of the Two Heads (*Mushhad ar-Ra'sayn*). It is said that when al-Mukarram uncovered his face Asmā exclaimed:

"He whose coming is like unto thy coming hath not tarried, neither hath he erred."

The statement in her letter, that she was with child by the slave Sa'id, son of Najāh, was not actually true, but she thought thereby to excite and stimulate her son to the vindication of his honour. Al-Mukarram's heralds now proclaimed his orders to unsheathe the sword against the people of the captured city. But he warned the army that the Arabs of Tihāmah beget children by black concubines, and that a black skin was common to both slave and free. "But if ye hear a person pronounce the word *azm*, *azm* (as if it were written with the letter *z*), know that he is an Abyssinian and slay him. If he pronounce it *azm* (with the letter *z*), he is an Arab, and ye shall spare him."

He appointed his maternal uncle, Aḥmad (As'ad? see below) ibn Shihāb, to be ruler over Tihāmah as before, and he then departed for San'a, serene in mind after his victory, and accompanied by Asmā, daughter of Shihāb. A saying became common among the people of Zabīd which has been preserved down to my own time. If a man of the lower classes revile one of his neighbours, and if he be reproached for his evil language towards the man, he will answer: "By Allah! the man who took his mother from Zabīd, and who slew on her account twenty thousand Abyssinians, by my life! he was truly a man!"

Al-Mukarram having appointed his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb to the rulership over Zabīd and its dependencies, (joined with him?) on that occasion Aḥmad ibn Sālim. As'ad sent him to San'a in charge of the tribute of the province of Tihāmah. Asmā distributed the greater part among the Arab envoys. Aḥmad ibn Sālim thereupon began to tear his beard, saying:—"I have

passed through fire for the sake of this money, and see now what has been done with it ! ” “ If money
27 be not spent upon those who are deserving of it,” answered Asmā, “ then it is but vanity and unprofitableness.”

But she wrote to her brother As‘ad ibn Shihāb desiring him to pay twenty thousand dinārs. to Ahmad ibn Nālim out of the current year’s revenue, as a present and mark of good-will.

Not long after, Asma, daughter of Shihāb, died, at San‘ā, in the year 497.* That same year al-Mukarram ordered the *Maliki* dinārs to be struck. They are so named after him, and they are the dinārs of Yaman. The inscription they bear is the following: *The King and Lord al-Mukarram, Supreme Chief of the Arabs, Sultān under the Prince of the Faithful.* They continued to be struck according to that design until the present day (that is to say), until the Dā‘y ‘Imrān ibn Muḥammad ibn Saba the Zuray‘ite made the inscription as follows: *The Unparagoned among the Kings of the age, King of the Arabs and of Yaman, ‘Imrān, son of Muḥammad.*³¹

In that same year the Bannu Najāh returned. They drove Ahmad (read As‘ad?) ibn Shihāb out of Zabīd, and made themselves masters of the city. But they were themselves again expelled by al-Mukarram ibn ‘Alī, and Sa‘īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāh, was killed under the walls of the fortress of ash-Sha‘īr, the result of a stratagem effected by the Sultān Abu ‘Abd Allāh at-Tubḥa‘ī, the particulars of which will be recounted in the history of the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad. The death of Sa‘īd al-Aḥwal took place in the year 481. That same year Jayyāsh, son of Najāh, together with the wazīr Khalf ibn Abi Ṭāhir the Omayyad, escaped in disguise to Aden, and

* Read 479, as in al-Jānaḥ and Dayḥā’.

travelled thence to India. There they remained for six months, and then returned to Zabīd, which they conquered before the expiration of the year. At that period As'ad ibn 'Arrāf was named ruler of Zabīd, and 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm, son (read father) of al-Husayn ibn 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm the poet, was appointed his wazir and private secretary, in accordance with the precedent of his former appointment under As'ad ibn Shihāb. There are persons
 28 who affirm that 'Aly, son (read father) of Husayn, son of 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm, ruled over Zabīd, under As'ad ibn Shihāb, before the appointment of As'ad ibn 'Arrāf.³⁵

THE HISTORY OF THE HONOURABLE LADY THE QUEEN
 SAYIDDAH, DAUGHTER OF AHMAD.

HER name was Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, son of Ja'far, son of Mūsa the Sulayhite, and her mother was ar-Radāh, daughter of al-Fārī, son of Mūsa. Ar-Radāh was left a widow by the death of her husband Ahmad, father of the Lady Sayiddah, and she then married 'Amir, son of Suleymān, son of 'Amir, son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawāhī, to whom she bore Suleymān, son of 'Amir, son of 'Abd Allah the Zawāhite. The latter was therefore half brother to the Lady Sayyidah. By her authority he was appointed Dā'y of the Hashimites,* but he was assassinated by the Amir al-Mufaddal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, son of Abu 'l-Walid, who caused poison to be administered to him. May God have mercy upon him!

The Lady Sayyidah was born in the year 440 (read 444), and Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, superintended her education. It is related that she once

* Read *Fatīmiles*. See *infra* (chapter on the Dā'ys of Yaman).

day told Asmā that she had dreamt she held in her hand a broom with which she swept the king's palace. "It is as though I had shared thy vision," exclaimed Asmā. "By Allah! O fair-complexioned, thou shalt sweep away the dynasty of the Sulayhites and thou shalt appropriate their kingdom."

In her personal appearance, Sayyidah was of fair complexion tinged with red, tall, well proportioned, but inclined to stoutness, perfect in beauty, of a clear-sounding voice, well read and a skilful writer, her memory stored with history, with poetry and with the chronology of past times. Nothing could surpass the interlinear glosses, upon both verbal construction and interpretation, inserted in her handwriting on the pages of books. Al-Mukarram married her during the lifetime of his father 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, in the year 461. She bore him four children, Muḥammad, 'Aly, Faṭimah, and Umm Hamdān. Muḥammad and 'Aly died in childhood at San'a. Umm Hamdān was married to Sulṭān Aḥmad ibn Suleyman the Zawāhite, son of her maternal uncle, to whom she
29 bore a son 'Abd al-Musta'la. Faṭimah, daughter of the Lady Sayyidah and of al-Mukarram, married Shams al-Ma'ali 'Aly, son of the Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad (the Sulayhite). Umm Hamdān died in 516 (or 510?). As for Faṭimah, her death occurred two years after that of her mother, namely in A.H. 534. I have heard more than one aged man among the natives of Dhu Jiblah affirm that aṣ-Sulayḥi treated Sayyidah, in her earliest years, with a degree of deference he showed to no other person. "Show her respect," he used to say to Asmā, for, by Allah, she will be the preserver of our race and the guardian of our crown unto whoso endureth of our dynasty." Much more, my informants added, was heard from him to the same effect and in different places.

The circumstances that led to al-Mukarram's removal from Ṣan'ā to the city of Dhu Jiblah were the following. Upon the death of his mother Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, he made over the superintendence of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad. He, on his part, gave himself up to the pleasures of music and wine. The queen remained alone in charge of the affairs of the kingdom. It is said she begged to be accorded her personal freedom, and liberty to attend to the task on which she was engaged, saying that a woman who was desired for the marriage-bed, could not be fit for the business of the state, but he would not consent.

After a time she departed from Ṣan'ā at the head of a large army, and she went forth to behold Dhu Jiblah. Jiblah was the name of a Jew who sold pottery on the spot where the first royal palace was afterwards built, and the city was named after him.³⁰ Its founder was 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, who was killed at al-Mahjam by Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, together with his brother the Amir and Dā'y 'Alī. The latter had appointed him governor of the fortress of Ta'kar, a stronghold which looks down upon Dhu Jiblah. That city stands below the fortress, between two streams flowing with water both in summer and in winter. It was founded by 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad, in the year 458.

The people of Mikhlāf Ja'far gathered together around Sayyidah's stirrup, acknowledging her
 30 authority. On her return to Ṣan'ā she said to al-Mukarram : " My lord, send notice to the people of Ṣan'ā to assemble to-morrow and to come unto this plain." On their assembling she told him to cast down his eyes upon the people and to look at what he should see. He did so, and nought met his eyes but the lightning-flashes of drawn swords

and of lance-blades. On going to Dhu Jiblah she desired al-Mukarram to assemble its people and those of the neighbourhood. They gathered together on the morning of the following day, whereupon she said: "Look down, my lord, and behold these people." He did so, and his eyes fell upon men leading rains or carrying vessels filled with ghee or with honey. "Life among these (industrious) people," she said to al-Mukarram, "is to be preferred." The Amir al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah, and he built the second royal palace upon an uncultivated tract of land. It was surrounded by a garden and by numerous trees, and looked down upon the two streams and upon the first palace. The Queen Sayyidah ordered the latter to be converted into a cathedral mosque. It is the second cathedral mosque. It contains the tomb of the queen, which exists to this day. May God be merciful unto her! The second, the great palace, bearing (like its predecessor) the name of Dār al-'Izz (abode of majesty), was erected in the year 481. Al-Mukarram appointed as his deputies over San'a, 'Imran ibn al-Faḍl, of the sub-tribe of Yam and of the tribe of Hamdan, and As'ad ibn Shihāb.

In that year also, the queen encompassed by a stratagem the death of Sa'id ibn Najūh al-Aḥwal. She desired al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y, Prince of Sha'ir to write to Sa'id al-Aḥwal at Zabīd, to represent to him that al-Mukarram was afflicted with paralysis, that he had abandoned himself to the pursuit of pleasure, that the business of his government was conducted by his wife, and that Sa'id himself was now the most powerful king in Yaman. Further, he suggested, as commanded, a joint attack upon Dhu Jiblah, by Sa'id from Tihāmāh and by al-Ḥusayn himself from the mountains. Sa'id, he represented, could then relieve himself of his enemy and recover possession of the entire country. "If

you approve of my advice," he said, "let it be acted upon. For your rule," he continued, "is better in
 31 the eyes of the Muslims than that of these heretics."

When Sa'id ibn Najāh read the letter of Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y, he greatly approved of what was proposed, and he was filled with gladness. On the day appointed by at-Tubba'y, he set forth from Zabīd for Dhu Jiblah at the head of thirty thousand spearmen. The Queen Sayyidah had meanwhile sent orders to As'ad ibn Shihāb, and to 'Imran ibn al-Faḍl at Ṣan'ā, desiring them to march into Tihāmah in the rear of Najāh, with three thousand horsemen, and to follow him stage by stage. They obeyed, and upon Sa'id ibn Najāh halting below the fortress of ash-Sha'ir, the two armies fell upon him from either side. He and all his followers were put to the sword, but it is also said that two thousand escaped. His head was put up below the window of the palace Dār al-'Izz, inhabited by the Queen Sayyidah. His wife Umm al-Mu'arik was with him, and it was by her means that his head was recognized among the slain. It was set up close to the window of the apartment that was assigned to her. "O that thou hadst eyes, Lady Asmā," exclaimed the Queen, "wherewith to see the head of the squint-eyed slave below the window of Umm al-Mu'arik!"

Al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, died in A.H. 484, bequeathing the office of Dā'y to the Most Noble Amir, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Pillar of the Khalifate, Prince of Amirs, al-Manṣur Abu Ḥimyar Saba, son of Aḥmad al-Muẓaffar, son of 'Aly the Sulayhite.³⁷

HISTORY OF THE DĀ'Y SABA, SON OF AHMAD, SON OF
AL-MUẒAFFAR, SON OF 'ALY THE SULAYHITE.

IN his external appearance, the Dā'y Saba was ill-favoured [and short in stature], nor did he appear to advantage in the saddle. But he was of a benevolent and generous disposition, an accomplished poet, learned in the doctrines of the Pure Sect, well
32 acquainted with the sayings of the wise, nurtured on poetry. He requited eulogists with eulogy, as well as with substantial rewards. On that point 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm has said of him:—

When I panegyriced al-Hayzari,* the son of Ahmad—he rewarded me and he requited me with praise for my praise.

He gave me verses for my verses, and added—gifts, those my capital in trade, these my profits.

I forced my way through the crowd until I beheld him—as one that hath pierced through darkness unto morning's light.

An evil time it were, deprived of the son of Ahmad!—but assuredly free from evil is the age in which he liveth! *

His residence was a stronghold called Ashyah, a lofty castle equal in stateliness and strength to Masār and Ta'kar. It has been related to me by the Ḳur'ān reader, Suleymān ibn Ya-Sin, who was a Hanafite, that he once spent several nights in the fortress of Ashyah. In the morning, he said, he could see the sun rising in the east, but shedding no light (upon the country). Turning towards Tihāmah, so much lingering darkness still prevailed as to prevent the wayfarer from recognizing a companion walking close beside him. Ibn Yā-Sin supposed this to be caused by clouds or mists, but he eventually determined it to be the result of a protraction of the darkness of night. He vowed, in consequence, always to reckon the hour for the performance of morning prayer according to the

* Hayzar, according to the Ḳamūs, is a proper name.

rules of the Shāfi'ites; for the followers of Abu Hanīfah postpone the hour until the sun has almost risen over the low-lying plains of Tihārah. The actual fact is simply that the eastern aspect from 33 Ashyah is unimpeded by mountains, in consequence of its own situation on a lofty summit.

The fortresses of the Banu Muzaffar overlooked the plain of Tihāmah. They bordered closely upon the territories of Zabīd; and of all the mountains, those upon which these fortresses stand, are the nearest to Tihāmah. Among other strongholds in the possession of the family were Maḥr, Wuṣāb, Kawarīr, az-Zarf, and ash-Sharaf. The last mentioned is the place where Ibn Mahdi rose in insurrection. The remaining places were Dhu 'r-Rassah, Zafār (Zufarīn?), and Raymah, with its districts.* As his territories adjoined Tihāmah, Saba used to make Jayyāsh taste the vicissitudes of war. His Arabs, on perceiving the approach of winter, were in the habit of descending into the low country. Jayyāsh would thereupon retire, but to no great distance, and Saba would collect the revenues. He was careful, nevertheless, not to act oppressively towards the inhabitants, and on the contrary, in reckoning with the collectors, he made allowance for the sums raised by Jayyāsh during the summer and autumn months. When winter and spring passed away, the Arabs withdrew from Tihāmah to the mountains, and Jayyāsh re-entered into possession. The withdrawal of the Arabs was sometimes attended with fighting, and sometimes it was peaceful.

On the return of Jayyāsh to Zabīd, the Qur'āns were spread open, his subjects joined in supplications for his prosperity, the Jurists came forth, and the 'Ulama (the doctors of the law) offered up prayers for the prolongation of his reign. In

* See note 21.

reckoning with the governors and collectors, Jayyāsh likewise allowed for the sums levied by Saba during the months of winter and spring.

That situation continued until the wazīr Khalf ibn Abi Tahir advised the son of Jayyāsh to imprison his father, to seize his treasure and property . . . and to appoint Muhammad ibn al Ghifari his wazīr. This was carried into execution. After a time, Khalf pierced an opening through the walls of his prison, and took refuge with Saba, by whom he was well received. He ceased not to urge upon Saba the invasion of Tihāmah, and indicated to him means and artifices whereby he could reduce Jayyāsh to utter ruin . . . to Saba a stated sum to stand in lieu of the half, and that he should stipulate with Saba for the banishment of the wazīr Khalf from his court. Jayyāsh followed the advice of the wazīr, but thereupon the greed with which the Arabs coveted the country increased, and they reckoned themselves to be secure . . . The Kā'id Rayhān al-Kahlani, freedman of Sa'id, son of Najāh, 34 at the head of ten thousand men, surprised the Arabs by night near the gate of Zabīd, where they were arrayed to the number of three thousand horse and ten thousand foot. Only a small remnant escaped. Nearly all were speared, and Saba fled on foot among a mixed and disorderly body of fugitives. Towards the end of the night a party met and rescued him. The Arabs did not thoreafter return to Tihāmah.³⁹

Among other passages in the life of the Dā'y Saba, son of Ahmad, is that related to me by the Jurist Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn 'Aly al-Bajali,* who had learned it from his father. The latter resided at Dhu Jiblah, and was one of the retainers of the Dā'y. When, he said, al-Mukarram son of 'Aly died, leaving the Queen Sayyidah daughter of

* That is to say, member of the tribe of Bajilah.

Aḥmad a widow, the Dā'y Saba asked her in marriage. She refused, whereupon he collected troops and marched from Ashyah, purposing to attack her at Dhu Jiblah. She likewise assembled a host, more numerous than his. The two armies met and the fire of war was kindled and raged for several days. The queen's half-brother, Sulaymān ibn 'Āmir az-Zawāḥi, son of her mother, then said to Saba: "By Allah! she will not agree to that which thou desirest excepting by command of the Imām al-Mustansir billah, Prince of the Faithful." The Dā'y Saba ibn Aḥmad al-Auḥad (the Unparagoned) al-Manṣūr desisted from fighting against her troops and returned to Ashyah. He despatched to the Imām al-Mustansir two messengers, the Kādi (Abu 'Abd Allah al-) Ḥusayn ibn Isma'īl al-Isfahāni and Abu 'Abd Allah at-Tayyib. In the course of the correspondence the Khalifah wrote to the Lady three lines, commanding her to wed the Dā'y Saba, and he sent her also one of his own eunuchs, known under the designation of Ḥamīl al-Madyah, who bore moreover the honorific surname of *Yaman ad-Da'mah* (right hand of the Ismailite Mission); empowered to enter into the presence of the queen. Al-Jabali (Bajaly) relates that he was one of the persons sent by the Dā'y Saba from the castle of Ashyah to Dhu Jiblah to accompany the two envoys and the eunuch who had arrived from Cairo the Mu'izzite. Upon their entering into the presence of Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, in the palace, the Dār al-'Izz at Dhu Jiblah, the eunuch, surrounded, said the narrator, by her ministers, her secretaries, and the officials of the state, all standing up as he stood, addressed her in the following words: "The Prince of the Faithful
 35 returneth salutations of peace unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen Sayyidah, the Favoured, the Pure, the Unparagoned of her time, Sovereign Lady of

the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islam, the Treasure of the Faith, Refuge of the truly directed, Asylum of those who seek aid, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, the Guardian of his favoured servants, and he saith unto her : *Unto no Believer, male nor female, belongeth liberty of choice when God and His apostle have decreed a command, and whosoever opposeth God and His apostle wandereth signally astray.*⁴⁰ Our lord, the Prince of the Faithful, gives thee in marriage to the Dā'y, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Triumphant, the Pillar of the Khalifate, the Prince of the Amīrs, Abu Hinyar Saba, son of Aḥmad, son of al-Muzaffar 'Aly the Sulayhite, with the dowry he has provided, of one hundred thousand dinārs in money, and fifty thousand dinars in articles of rarity and value, in perfumes and in robes." Sayiddah answered : "As for the letter of our lord, I say of it : *Verily a gracious letter hath been conveyed unto me. It is from Solomon, and*" behold it saith : *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Resist me not but come unto me with submission. I say not touching the command of our lord, O ye counsellors advise me, and nought will I determine until ye shall have spoken.*⁴¹ But as for thee, O Ibn al Isfahāni, by Allah ! thou hast not carried unto our lord from Saba a sure and truthful message. Ye have wrested the words from their true sense and your souls have prompted you to commit an act of wickedness. My recourse is now to the comely virtue of patience, and God is He whose help is to be implored against the evil ye have set forth." * The queen's wazīr Zuray' ibn Abi 'l-Faṭḥ al-Isfahāni and others of her chief officers advanced, and ceased not to speak to her in pacifying terms until sho gave her consent. A marriage contract was drawn up, and Saba hastened to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by a large retinue.

* Kur. xii. s. 18.

He remained for a month, during which his camp was the scene of profuse feasting, and he expended upon his soldiery a sum equal to the dowry he paid to the Princess. But the contemplation of her lofty aims, and of her noble deeds, caused the Dā'y Saba ibn Ahmad to feel humbled in his own estimation. He perceived that his reputation was dimmed, and that no person could be fitly compared
 36 with her. All her people were in the habit of saying that their Lady was their Mistress.

The Dā'y Saba secretly sent a message to the queen, requesting her to receive him in her palace, that it might be believed by the people that the marriage had been consummated, to which she consented. Some of the inhabitants of Dhu Jiblah assert that she received him in her own apartments for one night, and that in the early morning he departed. Others say that she sent him one of her female slaves who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that he received warning thereof, and that the girl remained standing throughout the night at the head of his couch, whilst he sat without ever raising his eyes upon her, until when day dawned, he performed his morning devotions and ordered the drums to be beat for departure. He then said to the slave girl: "Tell our lady that she is a precious pearl, to be worn only by whoever is worthy of her." He then departed, and they did not meet again.⁴³

It is reported of the Dā'y Saba that he never had intercourse with a slave girl, and that he never tasted intoxicating beverages. His wife al-Jumānah, daughter of Suwayd, son of Yazīd the Sulayhite, was in the habit of saying that she was undisturbed by jealousy on account of her Lord Saba, seeing that he abstained from all intercourse with concubines, and it was a common saying among the Arab women that none among the posterity of Eve had

been so privileged as al-Jumūnah, with the exception only of Asmā, daughter of Shihāb.

At this period Shujā' ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman. He was enriched by the gifts bestowed upon him, and Shams al-Ma'ālī (son of Saba and husband of Fāṭimah daughter of al-Mukarram and of the Queen Sayyidah), who was of a most generous disposition, gave him sums of money amounting to thousands. After a time Shams al-Ma'ālī took a second wife and Fāṭimah wrote to her mother imploring her aid. The Princess sent troops to her assistance, under the command of al-Faḍl (al-Mufaḍḍal), son of Abu 'l-Barakāt. Fāṭimah, having put on the garb of a man, escaped from her husband's castle to the camp of al-Mufaḍḍal, who sent her on to her mother. He continued to besiege the Prince until an arrangement was arrived at, whereby Shams al-Ma'ālī was banished from his kingdom, under a safe conduct against all personal harm. He reached the court of al-Aḥdal (at Cairo), and implored his assistance, but al-Aḥdal paid no regard to his request and showed him no hospitality.⁴³ The Amir Shujā' ad-Daulah, whom Shams al-Ma'ālī had enriched in Yaman, sent him thirty ardebs of barley, but did not supply him with a morsel of bread, nor did he admit him into his
37 society. 'Alī Shams al-Ma'ālī son of Saba returned to Yaman, and gained possession of his father's fortresses, but the Amir al-Mufaḍḍal employed a person who poisoned him in the year 495.

THE STORY OF THE KING AL-MUFAḌḌAL, SON OF
ABU 'L-BARAKĀT SON OF AL-WALĪD, THE HIL-
YARITE, PRINCE OF TA'KAB.

WHEN al-Mukarram, son of 'Alī, built the palace of
Dār al-'Izz at Dhu Jiblah, and removed from San'a

to the Province of Ja'far, 'Abd, Allah ibn Ya'la composed the following lines:—

The gentle zephyr blew, and I spent the night as one distracted,—
yearning after family and friends.
Not Cairo, nor Baghdad, neither can Tiberius—he compared to the
city enclosed between two streams.
Khadiid commands the north, Ḥabb overlooks the east—and to
Ta'kar the lofty, belong the southern climes of Yaman.

At-Ta'kar was at that time in the hands of Sultān As'ad son of 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, son, therefore, of the paternal uncle of the King al-Mukarram, the same 'Abd Allah who was killed at al-Mahjam, along with his brother the Dā'y Aly son of Muḥammad. His conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed him from Ta'kar, giving him in exchange the fortresses of Raymah. [He placed Abu 'l-Barakāt, son of al-Walid, in command over Ta'kar and its dependencies, and he appointed] Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Faṭḥ (read Futūḥ) son of al-Walid, over the fortress of Ta'izz.¹⁴ Al-Mufaddal entered the service of the King al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah. He was one of the young pages of the palace, admitted into the presence of the Honourable Lady the Queen with messages from al-Mukarram, touching matters of business between them. Upon the death of the Amīr al-Mufaddal's father Abu 'l-Barakāt, which followed that of the King al-Mukarram, the Queen appointed al-Mufaddal successor to his father in the governorship of Ta'kar. That fortress was used by the Sulayhites as a depository for the treasures they had won from the kings of Yaman. The
38 Queen was in the habit of going up thither, and making it her place of residence during the summer, returning to Dhu Jiblah for the cold season. Al-Mufaddal exercised the powers which the Princess delegated to him and had access unto her, along with her chief wazīrs, with the Amīrs and with her

principal slaves. He was supreme administrator of affairs. In all things reliance was placed upon his judgment and upon his sword. The Queen came to no decision without his advice. He rose, consequently, to a state of great dignity, and his words were listened to with respect. He invaded Tihāmah on several occasions, with results sometimes in his favour and at others against him. He also several times made war upon Aden, and ere long no personage in Yaman could rival him in power. Having attained this exalted position, he one day said to the Queen at Ta'kar: "Consider, my lady, the treasures that are contained in this castle. Carry them away, I pray you, to the Dār al-'Izz, or remove them to some other palace, and leave this place (meaning thereby Ta'kar) entirely to me, renouncing henceforward your authority over it." "Hadst thou not spoken these words," she replied, "I would not have allowed any cause for their utterance to exist. The castle is thine. Thou art the confidential minister in my palace, and I have forbidden thee nothing in the past, in consideration of thine exalted condition." He was filled with confusion, and hung his head. The Queen went down to Dhu Jiblah, but made no change in her conduct towards al-Mufaḍḍal. He used to go down to her and entreat her to return to Ta'kar, as she had been in the habit of doing, but she never consented. She nevertheless applied herself to conciliate his good will by presents such as were most agreeable to him, of singing girls, valuable stuffs and perfumes, slaves, eunuchs, and other gifts. She would not listen to those who blamed her on his account, or who cautioned her against him. And his fame is connected with memorable battlefields, in which he defended her, and protected her territories. He fought against the Dā'y Saba ibn Aḥmad when the latter asked her in marriage. She refused, and

al-Mufaddal marched against Saba with a large army. He fought also against 'Aly ibn Saba (Shams al-Ma'ali), Prince of Kaydān (Kayzān),⁴⁶ and expelled him from his province, and against 'Amru ibn Karmaṭah (read 'Arkatah) al-Janbi, and against others of the tribes of Sinhān, of 'Ans, and of Zubayd. He recovered for her also, from the Banu Zuray', one half of the revenues of Aden,
 39 [which amounted to] one hundred thousand dinars a year.

Sheykh Abn Ṭāhir al-Kābūni has related to me that he was on one occasion with al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, at at-Ta'kar, when half the revenues of Aden, fifty thousand dinārs, reached him. He immediately sent the money to the Queen at Dhu Jiblah, without retaining any portion of it. Sheykh Abu Ṭāhir disapproved of such scrupulous conduct, but al-Mufaddal replied that he required nothing besides what the Queen gave him. When the money reached her she returned it, desiring him to retain it, "for," she said, "you have more need of it than we." Al-Mufaddal, said Abu Ṭāhir, divided among the people present ten bags, and he gave me one containing one thousand dinārs.

Al-Mufaddal was in the habit of secluding himself until people despaired of again seeing him. Then he would re-appear. The messengers who had gathered around his gates had to wait, whilst both weak and powerful (claimants) were admitted. He examined into the affairs of the governors and of their provinces, and answered every letter that had reached his gates. He would then again disappear, and could neither be seen, nor could any message be transmitted to him. Such was his custom from the time when he attained his exalted position.

When al-Manṣūr, son of [Fātik son of] Jayyāsh, was driven forth from Zabīd, and replaced by his brother (read uncle) 'Abd al-Wāḥid son of Jayyash,

he fled with his slaves to Mufaḍḍal, and they pledged themselves to deliver unto him one fourth of the country in return for his assistance. Al-Mufaḍḍal marched with them against their enemies, expelled *Abd al-Wāḥid from the city, and reinstated al-Manṣūr and his followers. He then, however, conceived treacherous designs against them, and purposed making himself master of Zabīd.

But al-Mufaḍḍal's absence in Tihāmāh had prolonged itself, and Ta'kar, deserted by the Prince, was committed to the charge of a deputy, known by the name of al-Ḥamal. This man was held in great respect, and was strongly attached to the (orthodox) faith. Seven jurists, brethren of al-Ḥamal, went up to him at Ta'kar. Among them were Muḥammad ibn Ḳabas (Rays?) the Wuhazīte, 'Abd Allāh ibn Yahyā and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Zaydān. The latter was their acknowledged leader, and he was my uncle, the full brother of my father by both parents.⁴⁰ They received possession of the fortress from al-Ḥamal. The Sunnī subjects of the Suḡlayhites had desired the jurists, on their gaining possession of the fortress, to kindle a fire on the summit. They did so during the darkness of night. In the morning twenty thousand men assembled at the gates of the castle in support of the jurists, who became possessed of an amount of wealth such as had never before been seen. The news reached the Amir
40 al-Mufaḍḍal in Tihāmāh. He set out and turned neither to the right nor to the left till he reached Ta'kar. He besieged the jurists, but the Banu Khawḷān rose to their assistance. The siege, however, continued, and ere long the garrison perceived that the Khawḷānites were prepared to abandon them. Thereupon Ibrāhīm ibn Zaydān declared to his companions that he was determined not to die until he had slain al-Mufaḍḍal, after which, death, he said, would be welcome. He seized the concu-

bines of al-Mufaddal, and brought them forth wearing their most magnificent apparel. Placing tabours in their hands, he set them upon the roof of the palace, whence al-Mufaddal, who was in a tent at 'Azzān at Ta'kar, and all that were with him, could see and hear them. Al-Mufaddal was the most jealous and sensitive of men, and it is said that he died that night. By some it is stated that he sucked the poison from a ring he wore, prepared for a case of need, and that he was found dead in the morning with the ring in his mouth. His death occurred in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 504.

The Queen thereupon ascended from Dhu Jiblah, and encamped on the open ground, near the gate of the fortress. She wrote to the jurists, and adopted with them the most conciliatory measures, even to giving them a bond under her own hand, granting them all their demands, their personal safety, and retention of the treasure they had seized. They stipulated that she should depart with her forces, that she should send them, as governor, a person whose appointment should be subject to their approval, and that they should remain with him (in occupation of the fortress) until their booty should be in a place of safety. The Queen faithfully observed the conditions agreed upon, and she appointed over Ta'kar her freedman Faṭḥ ibn Miftāḥ. I have been told by Sulṭān Nāṣir ibn Maṣṣūr, that my uncle Ibrāhīm ibn Zaydān informed him, after his withdrawal from Ta'kar, that his share of ready money amounted to twenty thousand dinārs.

Part of the tribe of Khanlān had entered and settled in Mikhlāf Ja'far before the death of al-Mufaddal, to the number of six thousand souls, a mixed multitude consisting chiefly of Banu Baḥr, Banu Dīnuah, Marrān, Rawāḥ (Razīḥ?), Sha'b-Hay, and Banu Jumā'ah.⁴⁷ Al-Mufaddal dispersed them

among the strongholds of the country and made them take the oath of allegiance to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaddal, a man of the sub-tribe of Marrān, of the name of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, 41 attacked the fortress of Khadid, drove therefrom the Sultān 'Abd Allāh ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite, the accomplished poet and learned scholar, and took possession of the stronghold. 'Abd Allāh ibn Ya'la was possessed of great wealth, which passed into the hands of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, whose power was thereby greatly increased. He joined the Queen and her adherents, and formed hopes that she would appoint him to succeed al-Mufaddal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt.* He sent her his two sons, 'Imrān and Suleymān, whom she received with kindness and by her command, although they had reached the years of maturity, they were taught to read and write. Afterwards she married them to two of her slaves brought up under her care. They visited their father by turns, at Khadid, and they were protected by the tribe of Khawlān, which possessed great power and influence. Upon the death of Muslim, his son Suleymān succeeded to the fortress of Khadid. 'Imrān remained with the Queen and acquired favour with her. Fath ibn Miftah had, after the death of Muslim, entered into a state of opposition to the Queen his mistress, and had declared himself independent at the fortress of Ta'kar. 'Imrān made friendly advances to Fath, and after his rebellion, asked his daughter in marriage. On the night of the wedding Suleymān and 'Imrān gained possession, by treachery, of the castle of Ta'kar, but 'Imrān protected his father-in-law from personal harm. Fath stipulated with the two brothers for certain things, which they granted. One was that they should give him, as a free gift, a certain castle called Shār.* Thither he removed all

* Shār is mentioned by Yaḳūt as the name of a castle in Yaman.

that he held most valuable. On obtaining possession of the fortress of Ta'kar, 'Imrān sent the Honourable Lady the Queen repeated assurances of loyalty and homage, of which she took no heed. The Khaulānites stretched forth their hands against the people, whom they oppressed and plundered. The night on which they gained possession of Ta'kar was that of Sunday, the twelfth day of Rabi' al-Awwal of the year 505.

Such continued to be the condition of things between the Banu Khaulān and the Queen. When she saw their exceeding wickedness, she sent a letter to 'Amru ibn 'Arfaṭah al-Janbi (of the tribe of Janb), consisting of one or two lines in her handwriting. She ordered the country of Suleymān and 'Imrān to be occupied by an army of horse and loot, and they were not to be relieved of its presence, until they
 42 humbled themselves unto her and made a request for its withdrawal. Sulṭān Yazīd ibn 'Īsa the Wa'ilito told me that he remembered being sent to the Queen by 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr, then facing the Arabs of 'Amru in order of battle. 'Imrān asked her assistance, and she sent him ten thousand dinārs to serve for the purchase of supplies. But the money was returned. "Does she not know," exclaimed 'Imrān, "what it is that can be of real service to me?" She thereupon wrote an order with her own hand, added Yazīd ibn 'Īsa, to 'Amru ibn 'Arfaṭah al-Jabani ('Arfaṭah al-Janbi) in the following terms: "On receiving this our command, depart from the country of the Banu Zarr, with our thanks for your services." On reading the order 'Amru immediately directed the signal for departure to be proclaimed to his people. It consisted in the utterance of the words *O Rūshid, son of Marūh*.⁴⁰ Before an hour had elapsed, not one of his people remained in the place. "This, by the Lord," said 'Imrān to his brother, "is truly (a receiving of) honour and obedience!"

THE HISTORY OF IBN NAJĪB AD-DAULAH.

IN the year 513 Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah came to Yaman, and the following is the history of al-Muwaffaq Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah :—

At the commencement of his career, he was custodian of the library of al-Afdal (Shahinshah, at Cairo). He had a well-stored memory, had studied the doctrines of the Pure Sect (the Ismailites), was constant in recitations of the noble Qur'an, and recited it according to its various readings. His name was 'Aly, son of Ibrahim, son of Najīb ad-Daulah, and his titles were *al-Imīr al-Muntakhab* (the Chosen Amir), *Glory of the Fatimite Khalifate*, *Fakhr al-Daulah* (Lustre of the State), *al-Muraffiq ji-'d-dīn* (Aided in the Faith), *Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful*. He started from Cairo accompanied by twenty mounted men, carefully chosen from among the *Hujariyahs*.⁵⁰ On arriving at the Island of Dahlak, he was met by an emissary (?) from Aden, Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Arab the Dā'y, one of the sons of Sa'id ibn Hamid ad-Din. This man instructed him in the secret politics of Yaman, the condition of the chiefs, their names, their personal appearance and their surnames, even the dates of
43 their births and particulars of marks, traces of wounds and cauterizations, concealed by their clothing. When Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah (afterwards spoke of those things and) put questions touching their occult significations, his hearers became convinced that he possessed knowledge of the invisible world.⁵¹ The first thing he did on arrival at Dhu Jiblah was to lay hold of a Khaulānite of the name of Suleymān ibn 'Obayd, belonging to (the sub-tribe or family of) the Banu 'Amru and a kinsman of 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr. He was a man widely

known and held in great respect. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah beat him with a stick until it caught in his clothes. The Banu Khaulān withdrew from Dhu Jiblah. Suleymān ibn Aḥmad (read Aḥmad ibn Suleymān) the Zawāhite, son of the Queen's (half) brother and husband of Umm Hamdān daughter of al-Mukarram, hurried to the spot and released the Khaulānite from the hands of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah without seeking the latter's consent. He gave the man a dress of honour and sent him back to his family. Thenceforward the Khaulānites restrained themselves from stretching forth their hands against the people.

Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah then proceeded to make war upon the inhabitants of Wādī Maytam,³² of (Wādī) Zabīd and of the plains. Good order, together with cheapness and plenty, became prevalent throughout the country and evil-doers were repressed. He himself respected the property of its inhabitants, he dealt righteously with them and maintained the laws. Through him the Queen's fame was enhanced, and the neighbouring nations of Yaman found themselves constrained to desist from coveting the outlying provinces of her dominions. He took into his service three hundred horsemen of the Banu Ḥimās and Sinḥān, and appointed at-Tauk the Hamdānite to command them. When al-ʿAḍal (Shabīnshah) died in the year 515, al-Ma'mūn (al-Baṭā'ihi) confirmed the authority of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. He strengthened him and sent him letters delegating to him the fullest powers over the people. Al-Ma'mūn sent him four hundred Armenians and seven hundred black archers. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah established his residence at Janad, which stands in the centre of the country, and whose districts have unceasingly been trampled under the hoofs of armed men's horses.

But the authority he exercised was impatiently

endured by the kings of the time, namely, Suleymān and 'Imrān, the two sons of az-Zarr, Mansūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, Saba ibn Abi Su'ūd, and Mufaḍḍal ibn Zuray'. In the year 518 Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah attacked Zabīd, which was then ruled by the wazīr Mann Allāh the Fatikite.

44 Ten of his archers had allied themselves with the citizens, and as the two armies entered into action, one of the archers shot an arrow which struck the muzzle of the horse upon which 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm Najīb ad-Daulah was mounted. He fell to the ground and lost his horse. His army was put to flight, all his black troops were killed, and only fifty out of four hundred Armenians escaped. As to the Da'y (Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah), the Hamdānites fought strenuously in his defence, until one of them, a man of the name of As-Sa'y, took him up and seated him upon his horse behind him. The Hamdānite horsemen who exerted themselves to save him were fifteen in number, and the chief, at-Taḥ, was one of them. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's horse disappeared from the battle at the hour of mid-day prayer on Friday. Early on the Saturday morning he appeared in the city of Janād, situated at a distance of four days' journey from Zabīd, or of three days' at a forced pace. Before evening a report was spread at Dhu Jiblah that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had been killed at Zabīd. He reached Janād four days after and rode to Dhu Jiblah, where he conferred with the Queen.

He suffered in health, but recovered, and for four months he carried on war in the country of Suleymān ibn az-Zarr. A truce was concluded between them and he returned to Janād. Next he made war upon the family of Zuray' and penetrated to al-Juwah. He was attacked at Hima Baḥi Salmah (?) by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Zuray'. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah received a lance-thrust and being a bad

horseman he fell to the ground. He was attacked by a slave belonging to Mas'ūd (al-Mufaḍḍal ?) ibn Zuray' named Musāfir, but the slave was charged and killed by Ṭauḵ the Hamdānite, who stood by Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah until he remounted, whereupon the Dā'y returned to Janad. He lost his breast-plate, which fell to the ground during the struggle, and Mufaḍḍal ibn Zuray' composed the following lines upon the occasion :—

He fled forgetting his breast-plate—In terror of the Banu Yām,
lest their lances should pierce him.
But flight saveth not from death—a truth held by every steadfast
and believing soul. "

In the year 519 his conduct towards the Queen
45 assumed an evil aspect. Her mind, he said, had become weakened, and he asserted that in his opinion it was necessary to place her in seclusion. But, meanwhile, she was joined by the four (six ?) kings, Suleymān and 'Imrān, sons of az-Zarr, Saba son of Abu Su'ūd, Abu 'l-Gharāl (son of Mas'ūd), As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ and Maṣṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. They asked her permission to besiege Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah at Janad, which she granted. The city was defended by walls, and Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had a force, part of the garrison, consisting of four hundred picked horsemen belonging to the tribe of Hamdān. The kings arrived with an army, consisting of three thousand horse and three thousand foot soldiers, with which they surrounded the city. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had with him certain men, each of whom was equal to one hundred horsemen. Among them were at-Ṭauḵ ibn 'Abd Allah, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl ibn 'Aly the Yāmīte, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, who exercised the functions of Dā'y after Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah and who was a member of the family of Sulayḥī, also 'Aly son of Suleymān az-Zawāḥī, Abu 'l-Ghayth ibn Samir, Muḥammad ibn al-A'azz,

who lived until he was treacherously slain by Ibn Mahdi, and al-Faridayn (?). The siege was carried on with vigour, and Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was put to great straits. The Queen, thereupon wrote, according to her custom, to ‘Amru ibn ‘Arqatah al-Janbi, who came to her and encamped at Dhu Jiblah. She sent also to the chiefs of the tribes and distributed among them ten thousand Egyptian dinārs, desiring her messengers at the same time to spread a report among the soldiers, to the effect that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had distributed a sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinārs among their leaders. The soldiers thereupon demanded that a share of the Egyptian gold be granted to them, else they would depart. The kings made promises, but when night closed in they started each for his own country. Next morning the troops found themselves without leaders. They broke up their encampment and abandoned the siege.* “Perceivest thou,” it was said to Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, “the artifice accomplished by her of whom thou
46 hast said that her mind is weakened?” He rode to Dhu Jiblah and strove to justify and to excuse himself to the Princess.

The Queen was the accepted representative of the Imām, upon whom be peace: . . .

The cause of this arrest⁴⁴ of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was [as follows according to what was related by] the jurist Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Hasayn ibn ‘Aly al-Halaby (al-Bajaly). Al-Ma’mūn (al-Baṭā’ihy), when wazīr (in Egypt), sent an envoy to Yaman, entrusted with military power, known by the name of al-Amīr al-Kadhdhāb. On his reaching Dhu Jiblah, he was present at a crowded assembly held by Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. The latter did not welcome him and he neither treated him as a guest, nor did he notice him. He sought to humiliate

* This, according to al-Khazraji, occurred in Muḥarram, A.H. 520.

him and asked him whether he was not superintendent of the city police at Cairo. "Yea, and indeed," answered the envoy, "they whom I smite with my hand, are amongst the most eminent of those who boast of a rabble following of ten thousand men." Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was himself humiliated by the reply he received, and his enemies thenceforward attached themselves to the envoy. They extolled his merits. He, on his part, plied them with presents and promised them the destruction of 'Aly ibn Ibrāhīm (ibn Najīb ad-Daulah) by means of two expedients. He recommended them in the first place to give him letters for the Khalifah al-Āmir, stating that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had invited and called upon them to recognize Nizār as supreme Imām and that they had refused. In the second place, they were to strike coins in the name of Nizār, which the envoy promised to transmit to our lord al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Illāh. They followed his advice, and his return to Cairo occurred simultaneously with the arrest and imprisonment of the wazīr al-Ma'mūn. The envoy sent the letters and the coins to the Khalifah, who commanded the Amīr al-Muwāffaq ibn al-Khayyāt to be sent to Yaman, for the arrest of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah.⁶⁵ He started from the Imperial Gate, accompanied by a hundred men belonging to the military body, the *Hujariyāhs*, all men fitted for the most arduous enterprises. Among the companions of Ibn al-Khayyāt were 'Izz id-dīn and his own son Sa'd al-Mulk. On hearing of the envoy's arrival at Dahlak, Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah set forth for the country of Zabul, notwithstanding the objections and repugnance he felt to doing so. A Dā'y, he said, must not skulk away in hiding. Death, he added, was preferable to disgrace. His enemies addressed themselves to the Queen and warned her to secure his person, for, they urged, the Imām would hold her alone

responsible for his safe keeping. The Queen feigned to be ill and sent to Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah
47 the Sharīf As‘ad ibn ‘Abd as-Samad ibn Muḥammad al-Hawwāly. This man was his most faithful friend. He overtook Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah at the distance of a night’s journey from Janad and told him that the Queen, the chosen representative of the Prince of the Faithful, was on the point of death.—“She places confidence in thee alone,” he added, and urged him to return to her. He did so, and she ordered him to be arrested, but she treated him with lenity and fettered him with silver chains weighing fifty ounces. The envoy arrived from Aden and demanded the surrender of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. The Queen refused. “Thou art the bearer of a letter from our lord,” she replied. “Take charge of my answer, or if thou preferrest, I will write to the Prince of the Faithful, and wait thou here until I receive his reply.” But the two kings Suleyman and ‘Imrān, the sons of az-Zarr, interfered. The Queen confided greatly in the judgment of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mahdi al-Ma‘mari. They offered him ten thousand dinārs, besides two castles in her dominions. He alarmed the Queen with representations of the evil consequences of rumours connecting her with the Nizarites, and directed the envoy and his companions to spread reports on the subject. The Queen yielded, but allayed the fears she entertained of the envoy, on Najīb ad-Daulah’s account, by exacting many solemn oaths from Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. She wrote also to our lord al-‘Amir bi-Aḥkam Illāh, the Prince of the Faithful, interceding with the Khalīfah for Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and she sent unto him her secretary, Muḥammad ibn al-Azraqī, a man of culture, the draftsman of the council, an elegant writer, eloquent, and remarkable for his benevolence. Among the presents she sent was a suit of

armour, enriched with jewels of the value of forty thousand dinārs. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was carried forth from Dhu Jiblah in a wooden cage. The people looked on, and he said unto them: "That which ye look upon is a lion imprisoned in a cage."

On reaching the distance of a night's journey from Dhu Jiblah, his custodians attached an iron weight of one hundred pounds to his feet and they reviled him and humiliated him. He was made to sleep naked in the vestibule, although it was winter. They hurried him away from Aden in a ship belonging to the port of Sawakin. They detained the Queen's messenger, Ibn al-Azraki, for five days.
48 Then they sent him off and they ordered the captain to wreck the ship. The vessel was sunk with all she contained, near Bāb al-Mandeb, and Ibn al-Azraki was drowned.

The Queen was greatly afflicted, when regrets could no longer avail.⁵⁶ Suleyman and 'Imrān, the sons of az-Zarr, went into her presence, exulting over the fate of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. They came forth exclaiming that the Jurist had indeed spoken the truth in reporting the words of 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbās (cousin of the Prophet):—"We used," he said, "to listen to the traditions preserved by 'Ā'ishah (the Prophet's widow), but never left her presence without having been reminded that she was a woman." This was their last interview with the Queen.

THE HISTORY OF [THE DYNASTY OF] AZ-ZURAY', SON
OF AL-'ABBĀS, SON OF AL-KARAM THE YĀMITE,
• PRINCE OF ADEN.

THE Banu Zuray' were descended from Hamdān, and from Jusham, son of Yam, son of Aṣghā.

Their ancestor, Ibn al-'Abbās* son of al-Karam, had gained credit by his conduct in past times, and especially by the assistance he gave to the Dā'y 'Alī, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, when the latter was engaged in promoting the Fāṭimite Khaḷifah al-Mustanṣir's supremacy over Yaman, and again by joining the Dā'y al-Mukarram, son of 'Alī, in his attack upon Zabīd and in the release of the Honourable Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, from the hands of Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāḥ.

The events that raised the family to the Principality of Aden were as follows. When 'Alī son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite conquered Aden, the city was under the rule of the Banu Ma'n [who had subdued it as well as Lahj, Abyan, Shihr and Ḥaḍramaut. He allowed them to remain in possession as governors under his authority. When al-Mukarram married the Honourable Lady Sayyidah, his father gave her Aden and its neighbourhood as her dowry. The Banu Ma'n accordingly paid her tribute so long as the Dā'y 'Alī son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite lived; but when he was killed, in the year we have mentioned (A.H. 473), they declared themselves independent].⁵⁷

The King al-Mukarram thereupon marched against them, conquered the city and put an end to the supremacy of the Banu Ma'n. He placed their country under the rule of al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd, the two sons of al-Karam. He appointed the residence of the former at Tu'kar-Aden, which adjoins the gate of the city, and [gave him authority over] the trade with the interior. To Mas'ūd he gave the castle of al-Khadra, with authority over the coast and shipping, and command of the city.⁵⁸ He made
40 them take oath to the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, because as Sulayḥi had endowed her with the city of Aden when he

* Read *Their ancestor al-'Abbās.*

married her to his son al-Mukarram in the year 461. From that year * the revenues of Aden were uninterruptedly paid to her until [the death of] al-Mukarraim. The amount was one hundred thousand dinārs, occasionally somewhat more, and in other years somewhat less. On the death of al-Mukarram, al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd, the two sons of al-Karam, continued faithfully to fulfil their obligations to the Queen. But after their death [and that of Zuray' son of al-'Abbās, Abu Su'ūd son of] Zuray' and Abu 'l-Gharāt son of Mas'ūd proclaimed their independence at Aden.† Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt marched against them and a war took place which ended in a treaty, whereby it was agreed that half the revenues of Aden should be paid to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, the Princes of Aden discontinued the payment of the Queen's half of the revenues. As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futuh, son of al-Malik al-Mufaddal's uncle, proceeded to the spot and concluded an agreement, whereby a fourth of the revenues was to belong to the Queen. When the Banu az-Zarr rebelled at Ta'kar, the Princes of Aden again discontinued payment, and the Queen was thenceforward unable to draw anything from Aden, in consequence of the death of all her leading men. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah made no attempt to do anything in the matter.

Such were the circumstances under which the Banu 'l-Karam ruled over Aden, and I will now proceed to relate the divisions that occurred between them.

Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, in the course of one of his wars, attacked Zabīd. He was accom-

* Read *From the time of the appointment of al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd.*

† Zuray' and his uncle Mas'ūd were killed, as will be seen, before the walls of Zabīd. A table showing the succession of the Zurayfite Princes is given in Note 113.

panied by Zuray', son of al-'Abbās, and by the latter's uncle Mas'ūd, son of al-Karam, who were at that time Princes of Aden. Both were killed at the gates of Zabid, and they were succeeded at Aden by Abu 's-Su'ūd son of Zuray', and by Abu 'l-Gharāt son of Mas'ūd. They were succeeded in the rulership over Aden by the Dā'y Saba, son of Abu 's-Su'ūd, and Muhammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. Next came Saba's son 'Aly al-A'azz al-Murtada, together with 'Aly, son of Abi 'l-Gharāt, and then the Dā'y Muhammad, son of Saba.⁵⁰ 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt was the last descendant of Mas'ūd.

50 The Dā'y Muhammad ibn Saba was succeeded by his son 'Imran. He died, and after him the country remained faithful in its allegiance to the family of Zuray', until the Zurayytes were deposed by Sultān al-Mu'azzam Shams ad-Daulah Turan Shāh, brother of Saladin son of Ayyūb, in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah [A.H. 569]. The Princes of Aden were at that time Muhammad and Abu 's-Su'ūd, the two sons of 'Imran, son of Muhammad, son of Saba. Ibn Hurabah took a part in the events at Aden, neither the particulars nor the date of which I am able to recollect; but there have been none in the family of al-Karam nobler than 'Imran, son of Hurabah (Muhammad?), or than Mufaddal, son of Zuray'. Nobility of character, though less than theirs, would be beyond power of description. The family of the Banu 'l-Karam are also known by the name of *al-Dhīb*. They were, next to the Sulayhites, the most distinguished of the Arab ruling families in Yaman.

Upon the death of Muhammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, son of Mas'ūd, son of al-Karam, he was succeeded by his brother 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. He possessed the castle of al-Khadrā, commanding the sea, the shipping and the city. The Dā'y Saba, son of Abu Su'ūd, son of Zuray', son of al-'Abbās, son of al-Karam the Yāmīte, who bore the

titles of the Unparagoned, the 'Victorious, Glory of the Empire, Honour of the Khalifate, Right Arm of the Empire, Sword of the Imām, Crown and Chief of the Arabs, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful,—shared the sovereignty over Aden with the Sulṭān 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. He held its gates and wielded authority over all that entered the city from the land side. He owned the fortress of Dunlūwah,⁴ Ar-Ramā (?), Nāmi', Maṭrān (?), and Dhubbān; also part of al Ma'afir and of Janad. His possessions in the highlands were extensive.⁶⁰ His sons were al-A'azz 'Aly, Muḥammad, al-Muṣṭafī, Ziyād, and Rauh.

HOW THE SOVEREIGNTY OF 'ALY IBN ABI 'L-GHARĀT
CAME TO AN END AT ADEN, AND HOW IT PASSED
INTO THE HANDS OF THE DĀ'Y SABA.

It has been related to me by the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba and by certain Sheykhis of Aden, that they knew Ibn al-Khazary Abu 'l-Kasim as deputy of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt over one half of Aden, and
51 Sheykh Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb al-Hadhaly as deputy of Saba son of Abu 's-Su'ūd, over the other half. Ibn al-Khazary dealt unrighteously, in the division of the revenues, with Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb, and (his friends) the dependents of 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, stretched forth their hands oppressively over the people. They created disorder and disturbance in the city and they cavilled at the Dā'y Saba, making use of language calculated to excite anger and to offend their adversaries' pride. The Dā'y was meanwhile assiduously occupied, through

* Khazraji says (see extracts in Note 57) that Dunlūwah was captured by Zuray' in A.H. 480.

good report and through evil report, in the collection of money and corn. All who looked to him for protection were ill-treated and oppressed, the followers of 'Alī being the more powerful party. The Dā'y bore his injuries in silence, but when his patience seemed likely to lead to the extinction of his authority, he determined upon an open struggle with his enemies. He appointed his deputy, the Sheykh as-Sa'ūd al-Muwallaḥ Bilāl son of Jarīr, over Aden, and ordered him to stir up the people, and to promote war in the city. Bilāl, who was a man of energy and sagacity, obeyed. Saba meanwhile collected a force of Arabs from among the Banu Haudān, and from among the tribes of Janb ibn As'ad (ibn al-Murab?), 'Anbas ('Ans?), Khaulān, Ḥimyar, Madhhij, and others. He hurried down from the mountains, [from Dunlūwah,] and confronted his enemies in Wadi Lahj. The Dā'y Saba possessed in that valley a walled village, known by the name of Banī Abbah,⁶¹ which he occupied with his brethren of the family of Zuray'. The retainers of his kinsman Mas'ūd possessed in the same valley a large walled city called az-Za'azū'. The two parties encamped near their respective towns, and they fought one another with unexampled determination.

The cruelty of our kindred inflicts a deeper wound—than the blows of a sharp-cutting sword."⁶²

I have been told by the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba, that he was out on one occasion with a reconnoitring party for Saba. They came in sight of 'Alī ibn Abi 'l-Ḡharāt and of his uncle Manī' ibn Mas'ūd. No horse, said the son of Saba, ever carried braver or bolder men than those two. "We took to flight," he continued, "but we were over-
52 taken by Manī' ibn Mas'ūd." "Tell your father, O youth," he shouted, "to stand firm, for this evening

there shall surely be kisses bestowed upon us by the Jushamite maidens within his tents."³³ When I informed my father of these words, he rode forth in person and addressed the Banu adh-Dhīb, who were present, and who were his nearest kinsmen: "The mercenary Arab horsemen (their allies) were not equal," he said, "to the heat of battle. Fire can be mastered only by him that kindles it. Meet your kinsmen and bear the fierce heat of battle yourselves, otherwise there is nought before you but defeat and disgrace."

The two armies joined in action and one of our horsemen, charging Manī' son of Mas'ūd, dealt him a thrust with his lance, which divided his upper lip and the extremity of his nose. The battle raged on both sides with lance-thrusts, heavy blows of the sword and the destruction of horses. The assembled Arabs looked eagerly on, but the Banu Hamdān at length charged, and interposed themselves between the two parties. At the same moment, the combatants were separated by the Lahj, which came rushing in a torrent down its bed. The two parties stood still on either bank of the stream, conversing with one another. The Dā'y Saba, or some other person, turned towards Manī' ibn Mas'ūd. "What sayest thou," he asked, "O Abu Mudāfi', of the Jushamite maidens' kisses this evening?" "I say of them," answered Manī', "as has been said by the poet al-Mutanabbi:—

Lance-thrusts to those that love them are as kisses."³⁴

Manī'u's answer has ever since been greatly praised and admired, by reason of the aptness of his quotation to the circumstances.

The war at az-Za'āzi', said to me the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba, endured for two years. 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt at first distributed money without taking account thereof, whilst the Dā'y

abstained from similar liberality, and the minds of the people were nigh to being turned against him; but when 'Alī's cause gave way, the Dā'y expended money with a liberality which it would never have entered the mind of any man to expect. I recollect, he continued, that on a certain day, a member of the tribe of Hamdān came into the presence of the Dā'y Saba, who was then occupying a tent in his
53 camp. "Let me be a partaker of thy bounty, O Abu Ḥimyar," said the Hamdānite. No one was with them but myself. "Thou knowest," continued the man, "that war is a devouring fire; and that men and horses are its fuel. I desire of thee that thou pay me the price of my blood, which amounts to one thousand dinārs." The Dā'y consented. "Also," continued the man, "the blood money of my son So and so, and of his brother." He received two thousand dinārs on their account. "May God preserve thee from evil, O Abu Ḥimyar," he thereupon said, "but there remains a claim for the horses that were destroyed." "Did destruction extend to the horses?" asked the Dā'y. "Pay me the price of the horses," answered the Hamdānite, "as thou hast paid me the blood money." The Dā'y handed over to him a purse containing five hundred dinārs. "But there is," said the man, "another thing which I think thy generosity, O Abu Ḥimyar, will not allow thee to deny me." "What is it?" "I desire to marry So and so, daughter of Such a one. Thou knowest how distinguished a family they are, and I am not possessed of sufficient wealth to approach them in a suitable manner." The Dā'y gave one hundred dinārs. "Mayest thou prosper and increase in wealth," said the Hamdānite. "There remains but one thing more. It would ill become me to marry whilst my two sons are unable to do so." The Dā'y gave him two hundred dinārs, for each

son one hundred. The Hamdāpīto arose, but on reaching the entrance of the tent, he came back and said: "By Allah! I will not, of a certainty, ask thee another thing save this one, for which I have returned. I have a daughter who has not a husband. An evil thing it were that I and her brothers should marry, whilst she remains single." "What is to be done?" asked the Dā'y. "Pay me a sum wherewith I may be able to marry her." The Dā'y gave him one hundred dinārs more and quoting the poet's saying, in the *rajaz* metre, he exclaimed:—

"Zayd's beard had to be thinned, and it was plucked out by the roots."

I was informed by the Dā'y Muhammad ibn Saba and by Bilāl ibn Jarīr al-Muḥammady, that Saba expended upon the war with Sultān 'Alī son of Abu l'-Gharāt, three hundred thousand dinārs. His means were then exhausted, and he borrowed money from the merchants of Aden who supported his cause, such as the Sharīf Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Omari, a descendant of (the second Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Shēykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn A'yan, Zafīr ibn Farāh and others.

- 54 The Dā'y Saba died at Aden, seven months after his conquest of az-Za'āzi, still owing on account of the money he had borrowed, a debt of thirty thousand dinārs, which was paid by his son, al-A'azz 'Alī ibn Saba. The Shēykh as-Sa'īd Bilāl, son of Jarīr al-Muḥammady, told me that when he took the fortress of al-Khaḍrā at Aden, and captured the Honourable Lady Bahjah, mother of Sultān 'Alī ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt, he found treasures under her keeping which it was not possible for him to match, although the whole of Aden had been in his possession for a considerable length of time. From

Aden to Lahj, he also said, is the distance of a night's journey, and he remembered writing from Aden with the news of the conquest of the city, and of his having captured al-Khadrā. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings to the Dā'y Saba ibn Abi Su'ūd. The same day on which he took al-Khadrā, the Dā'y captured the city of az-Za'āzī, and Bilāl's messenger met one bringing similar glad tidings from the Dā'y, a coincidence which, as he observed, was one of the most remarkable recorded in history.

'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt took refuge in the two fortresses of Munif and al-Jabalah (?). They belonged to the people of Saba Suhayb, whose country is the higher portion of Lahj.⁶⁶ He, Muḥammad ibn Manī' ibn Mas'ud and Ri'yah son of Abū 'l-Gharāt, were slain by Muḥammad ibn Saba at Lahj in the year 545.

The Dā'y Saba entered Aden, but, as we have stated, he lived in it for only seven months. He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar within the city. He bequeathed his crown to his son 'Aly al-A'azz. His death occurred in A.H. 533, one year after the death of the Honourable Lady, the Queen (Sayyidah).

The Amīr al-A'azz al-Murtada 'Aly, son of Saba, dwelt at Dumlūwah. He meditated putting Bilāl to death at Aden, but died of consumption. He bequeathed the crown to his sons Hātim, 'Abbās, Maṣṣūr, and Mufaḍḍal, all of whom were in their infancy. He appointed Anīs al-A'azzi and the Governor Yahya ibn 'Aly, who was his wazir and secretary, to be guardians of the children.

Muḥammad son of Saba, had fled from his brother, seeking refuge at Ta'izz and Šabir with the Amīr Maṣṣūr ibn Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, from whom he received protection. When 'Aly died at Dumlūwah, Bilāl sent certain Hamdānites

from Aden. They took Muḥammad ibn Saba from under the protection of Mansūr ibn al-Mufaddal, 55 and brought him down to Aden. Bilāl placed him upon the throne and made the people and officers of the government swear obedience unto him. He married him to his daughter and the wedding was celebrated with great splendour. He besieged Anis and the Governor Yahya ibn 'Aly at Dumlūwah. The fortress was taken, and the whole country submitted to Bilāl. When I reproached Anis for having surrendered Dumlūwah, a place of great strength, he answered that had he not submitted the female slaves and women would have beaten him to death with their clogs. Whilst the siege was proceeding he heard them, he said, saying to one another: "Curses be upon the slave who covets the like of what we require. Who is he to oppose one so much better for us than himself?" meaning thereby the brother of their lord, Muḥammad ibn Saba.

The Kādi ar-Rashid Ahmad ibn az-Zubayr had started from the Holy Gates (of the Imperial Palace at Cairo) in A.H. 534, with a charter of investment to the noble office of Dā'y, in the name of al-A'azz al-Murtada 'Aly, son of Saba. On his arrival, he found that 'Aly was dead, and he invested Muḥammad son of Saba, giving him the titles of *the Most Great, the Crowned, the Mighty*. Upon Muḥammad's wazīr Bilāl son of Jarir, he bestowed the titles of *the Auspicious Chief, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteous*.

The Dā'y Muḥammad was a man of a generous disposition, universally praised, fond of eulogy, liberal in his rewards to those who eulogized him, and himself a skilful improviser. He treated men of culture and learning with generosity and often introduced one or more verses in his conversation. I once saw him on a feast day in the Muṣalla,⁶⁶ out-

side the city of al-Juwah (Hinwah?), seated on a spot where he suffered from the hot rays of the sun. Poets were present who strove with one another for liberty to recite their verses. "Tell them," he said to me, "and raise your voice so that they may hear, that they need not crowd around me, for I will not leave this place until they have finished." The poets were thirty in number and he rewarded each one. .

I remember being with him one night in his palace at al-Juwah, whence I intended proceeding to Aden. He had with him the two Kālis, Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yaḥy' the Janadite and Abu 'l-Faṭḥ ibn as-Sahl, besides others of his principal courtiers, such as the two sons of Kāsim, Saba and Muḥammad, both of whom were shining lights, and one of the two, Muḥammad, was a physician and astrologer. Several of the eulogists I have spoken of, ten in number, had assembled at his gates. The Dā'y produced the poems and, turning to the persons assembled around him, he asked what reward he ought, in their opinion, to bestow upon the authors. His companions mentioned various sums, not one of which exceeded one hundred
56 dinārs. "Make it," he said, "three hundred dinārs. It is little enough." Thereupon he arose, and we superintended the division of the money.

We were present with him one day at the palace of al-Ḥajr, at a place known as al-Jannāt. Several poets were in his company, among others Saḍy ad-Daulah Aḥmad ibn 'Aly al-Ḥakly and the chief Kādi Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yaḥy' the Janadite. He was a distinguished poet and author of extemporaneous verses, which no studied lines have ever excelled. Also the Kādi Yaḥya ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Yaḥya, Kādi of Ṣan'ā, who, in the opinion of the people of Yaman, occupies a rank among poets equal to that of Ibn al-Kumm. The Dā'y

extemporized two lines of verse on a certain metre that occurred to him, and he promised to give the robes he wore and the money about his person, to him among the persons present, who should be the first to supplement his verses. The poets were slow in the accomplishment of their task and the Kādi Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yāfi'y distanced his companions in the race. He was close to me. I stole the paper out of his hand and I contrived to have his words in readiness on my lips. I thus appropriated the two lines he had composed. Standing up, I recited them to the Dā'y, and received the Kādi's prize. His shot hit the mark, but I had purloined the arrow, and I carried off the money and the robes. The stream of the Dā'y's liberality flowed in torrents for the benefit of the talented men about him. Not one of them but received a dress of honour and was rewarded with generous gifts.

In the year 549 (read 547) the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba purchased, from the Amīr Maṣṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, all the strongholds that had formerly belonged to the Sulayhites.* They consisted of twenty-eight castles and cities, among which were the cities of Dhu Jiblah, Dhu Ashrak, and Ibb. He bought them at the price of one hundred thousand dinārs. Maṣṣūr adopted his two fortresses of Sabir and Ta'izz as his places of residence and he divorced his wife.⁶⁷ Her name was Arwa, daughter of 'Aly, son of Abī Allāh the Sulayhite. The Dā'y went up to Mikhlāf (Ja'far). He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and married the repudiated wife of the Amīr Maṣṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. He married also the Honourable Wuḥāzite Lady, the daughter of Sulṭān As'ad ibn Wā'il ibn 'Isa. He removed her place of residence from as-Ṣarīḥāni to the palace of Ibn Sibā'. The poets vied more

* See Note 56.

than ever with one another in eulogies and congratulations on the subject of the fortresses he had acquired, and of the guarded and hidden jewels, the two wives above mentioned. The Dā'y was intoxicated with gladness by his successes and his hands were widely opened in distributions of gifts. One morning I went up to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by 57 the Sheykh Abū 'l-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite and by the Sheykh al-Murajja al-Ḥarānī, and from Dhu Jiblah we proceeded to the fortress of Ḥabb. Every paper that was handed to the Dā'y, he marked with the words, *Honour belongeth to God alone*. On reaching the castle, we reckoned up the papers in the possession of the poets. The Dā'y's treasurers were the Sheykh Ahmad ibn Mūsā ibn Abī 'z-Zarr the governor and Rayḥān al-Muḥammady. The sum to be paid was found to amount to five thousand dinārs. Sheykh Ahmad ibn Mūsā objected to it as unreasonably large and proposed that we should consult the Dā'y on the subject. Sheykh Rayḥān, however, answered that as for him, he was not worried of his life. "By Allah!" he said, "if you speak to him on the subject, you will not leave his presence without undergoing the effects of his anger." The entire sum was paid that same day. The Kādi Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Abī Yahya eulogized the Dā'y at Dhu Jiblah in an ode, for which he was rewarded with a donation of five hundred dinars and with a dress of honour.

I arrived from Tihāmah at a time when I was indebted to the Prince for a sum he had confided to me for certain purposes of his own. I received a letter at Zabīd, sent from Dhu Jiblah, in which he invited me to join him, which I did. When I stood before him, he asked me what I had brought him. I answered enumerating the things I had procured for him, to which he replied that he wanted nought

but verses. "By Allah!" I said to him, "I have not composed a word of poetry, nor can I do so for fear of the people of Zabīd, who make my verses a subject of reproach to me." He, however, desisted not from pressing me until he put me to shame and I improvized lines on the same metre as that upon which the Kaḍi Yahya ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Yahya composed his verses. When I recited them he exclaimed: "I rewarded the Kaḍi with five hundred dinārs and a dress of honour. I reward you with a like sum out of the amount in your hands, but in bestowing upon you a dress of honour, I will distinguish you over him, by giving you the robes I have on at this moment." I received the money and the robes, and the circumstance was one of the causes of the hatred the Abyssinians entertained against me, and of their desire to kill me, a design from which I was preserved by God Most High.⁶⁸

The generous deeds performed by the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba are more than it is possible to enumerate. He died in the year 548,[†] and was succeeded by his son 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad ibn Saba. The people of Zabīd prohibited me from going to him, and God decreed my journey to Egypt in A.H. 551, as envoy from the prince of the two great and holy cities. I obtained, on returning to Yaman, a letter from Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ ('Ala' ibn Ruzayk) to the Dā'y 'Imrān son of Muḥammad, asking him for a settlement of the account of moneys, for which, at the time of his father's death, I was still indebted and which amounted to three thousand dinārs. "What is the purport of Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ's letter," inquired the Dā'y. The Kaḍi ar-Rashīd informed him in reply that it asked for a settlement of the account. "Let 'Omārah offer us two lines of verse," answered the Dā'y, "in which he shall strictly observe the

* See Note 70.

laws of rhyme, and the account shall be regulated." Then he asked for paper, and wrote as follows:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. I hereby declare, and I am 'Imrān, son of the Mighty Dā'y Muḥammad, son of the Most Noble Dā'y Saba, son of Abū Su'ūd, son of Zuray', son of 'Abbās the Yāmīte, that the Jurist 'Omārah, son of al-Ḥasan * the Ḥakamīte, is exempt from all liability for the money he owed and was unable to pay to our lord the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba, amounting to two thousand seven hundred Malikiyah dinārs."

I again departed from Arabia in the year 552. Travellers arriving in Egypt from Yaman never ceased relating, touching the strength of character of the Dā'y and his generosity, things fit to humble Fortune when it shapes the course of events and the rain of heaven, when its copious and beneficent showers water the thirsty soil.

He died in the year 560, leaving three sons, Muḥammad, Abū Su'ūd and Mansūr, none of whom has yet attained the years of manhood at the present time, namely the month of Muḥarram of the year 564 of the Hīrah, the blessings of God and His peace be upon its originator.⁶⁹

The following is a slight sketch (a supplement to the foregoing particulars), poor and inadequate as the residue of liquid at the bottom of a cup, of the history of the Auspicious, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteous Chief, Abū 'n-Naḥī Jarīr son of Bilal (read Bilāl son of Jarīr) al-Muḥammady.

We have already mentioned that he governed 59 Aden on behalf of his master Saba. 'Alī al-A'azz allowed him to remain, and the city continued under his rule from the year 534 until 546 or 547, when he died. Worldly greatness is surely vanity! ⁷⁰

I have been told by Shēykh Ma'mar ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb, and by the learned scholar Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-'Abdī, both of whom possessed

* Son of Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī?

special knowledge of all that relates to Bilāl, that he left in money alone six hundred and fifty thousand Maliki dinārs and upwards of three hundred thousand dinārs in Egyptian coin. He left also several *buhārs* weight⁷¹ of silver plate, consisting of ornaments, horses' and mules' trappings, swords and lances, inkstands, basins and ewers, candlesticks, *Mu'āsh* (?) articles for presents, bath-basins, drinking-cups, cloaks (?), silver lace, utensils encrusted with gold, Sulayhi daggers, silver goblets and *ba'liyat* (?), weighing altogether five *buhārs* and two hundred pounds. As to clothing and merchandise, stores and warehouses were filled with them. Thus it was also in the matter of perfumes and such like. Also accoutrements and arms, rarities from India and beautiful objects from China, from North Africa and from 'Irāk, variegated stuffs (?) from Egypt, from 'Omān and from Kirmān, all in quantities which it is impossible to reckon. All passed over by his bequest into the possession of his master the Dā'y Muḥammad, son of Saba. The latter in the course of two years spent the whole in works of piety and benevolence.

Bilāl died leaving several sons, grown up men. Among them were the Sheykh Mudatī' son of Bilāl, who succeeded him in the office of wazīr. He died, and the wazīr Abu 'l-Faraj Yūsir, son of Bilāl al-Muḥammady, assumed the guardianship of the two young Amirs, the sons of 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, as well as that of their brother Maṣṣūr.* Yūsir is not inferior to his father in resolution and strength of character, or in bravery. As for the virtue of generosity, he is renowned for it, he is celebrated for it, and he is surnamed after it.

* The above is the nearest sense I can give to the much mutilated sentence in our MS. But there is practically no room for doubt that a version, which represents Yūsir as the guardian of 'Imrān's children, is substantially incorrect. See Note 69.

60 HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF NAJĀH, THE ABYSSINIAN
KINGS OF ZABĪD.

AL-Mu'ayyad Nāṣir ad-dīn Najāh continued to rule over Tihāmah, from the dominions of Ibn Ṭarf to Aden, the kings of the highlands showing respect for his dynasty, and dreading his power. This endured until the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite brought about his death, by means of a slave girl, whom he sent to Najāh as a present, in the year 452. The sons of Najāh retained possession of Tihāmah for two years after their father's death, and during that period affairs were conducted by one of their freedmen, of the name of Kahlān. They were men of resolute character, but some members of the family were still in their youth.

Ere long the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite dispossessed them of their kingdom (in A.H. 455), and after their arrival in the Island of Dahlak they became dispersed. Mu'ārik, the eldest of the family, in an access of folly committed suicide. As for adh-Dhakhīrah, she had barely attained the age of puberty. Sa'id al-Aḥwal, who afterwards slew the Sulayhite, (and Jayyash) were the two manliest characters of their house. Each cultivated literature, and enjoyed a prolonged life and great power. But their father Najāh brought up their elder brother Mu'ārik to succeed him.

Jayyash disguised himself and entered the city of Zabīd. Having recovered possession of certain deposits due to him by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Iāhir al-Kaybi, he returned to Dahlak, where he remained for a certain length of time, in the days of aṣ-Sulayḥi, applying himself with distinguished success to the acquisition of learning. Sa'id al-Aḥwal and he were born of the same mother, but Sa'id was

the elder, and the adventures he met with are the strangest that ever were recorded.

He departed from Dahlak for Zabīd in anger with his brother Jayyāsh, who had prevented him from practising treachery against the Prince of Dahlak. Sa'īd concealed himself at Zabīd in the house of the Ra'īs Mulā'ib the Khaulānite. This man belonged to the lower orders of the people, but he was more than any other person attached to the family of Najāh. Sa'īd dug for himself a refuge in the grounds occupied by the dwelling-places of Mulā'ib, and he generally abode therein. He then wrote to his brother Jayyāsh at Dahlak, ordering him to come to Zabīd, and announcing the speedy downfall of the Sulayhites and the restoration of their own family. On Jayyāsh's arrival, Sa'īd openly rose against his enemies at the head of a band of seventy men. Not one of them possessed a horse, nor had they any other weapon than iron
61 nails mounted on palm-sticks. Aḥmad ibn Falah, chief of the Office of Control at Zabīd, has told me that when Sa'īd went forth from the city, he and his followers met a mounted soldier. They killed him, and Sa'īd appropriated the horse he was riding. Sa'īd started from Zabīd, on his way to attack aṣ-Sulayhī, at the close of the ninth day of Dhu 'l-Kā'dah, of the year 473.

"We set forth," says Jayyāsh son of Najāh, "by the sea-board road, avoiding the royal highway for fear of being intercepted by the enemy. By forced marches the distance to al-Mahjam could be performed in three days. The news of our insurrection had preceded us and had reached aṣ-Sulayhī. Both the highlands and the plains were, at the time, filled with rumours.† The time had come, it was

* *Diwān at-Tahkik*. See Makrizi's *Khitaṭ*, vol. ii. p. 401.

† The conjunction *thumma*, which occurs at this point, perhaps indicates an omission in the MS.

said, for the uprising of Saʿīd al-Aḥwal son of Najūh, and there was hardly a mosque or place of assembly, a college, or market, or public road, in which the matter was not discussed, though we endeavoured, from motives of prudence, to act secretly. But Saʿīd openly made oath by God Most High, that he would slay his enemy, that he was the destined master of the day, and he spoke in that tone to most people.

“As-Ṣulayhī, on hearing of our revolt, despatched against us a detachment of his army, consisting of five thousand Abyssinian spearmen, most of whom were our own servants and kinsmen, and he ordered them to bring him the heads of the squint-eyed Saʿīd, of his brother, and of his other companions.

“By adopting the sea-board road, we avoided the troops. I remember that when night closed in upon us at al-Murāwīʿah,* in the province of al-Kadrā, a man stepped forward from behind the hillocks in the valley, and addressing us, said that we had doubtless strayed from our way. We replied that it was so, whereupon he desired us to follow him, and he walked before us until day-broke, when we lost sight of him. We underwent great fatigue and suffering from travelling barefooted by day and by night. Saʿīd, walking in our midst whilst the horse was led, continually exclaimed: ‘O morning of prosperity, of triumph, and of happiness! Make ye haste unto the man, lest to-morrow he die otherwise than by our hands. By Allah! to-morrow’s sun shall not rise and he still in this world!’” We continued our march without
62 intermission, until we at length entered the borders of the camp.

* Al-Murāwīʿah is mentioned in the *Tāj al-ʿArūs* as the name of a village in Yaman, the burial-place of a member of the family of al-Aḥdal.

“ We were mistaken for servants and followers of aṣ-Sulayhi, and none heeded us, saving ‘Abd Allah son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, who, mounting his charger, suddenly called to his brother: ‘To horse, my lord! for this, by Allah, is al-Aḥwal son of Najāh, with his armed following, of whom we have received warning by As‘ad ibn Shihāb’s letter from Zabīd.’ Aṣ-Sulayhi, in reply to his brother, exclaimed that he was destined to die at no other place but ad-Duhaym and Bir (the well of) Umm Ma‘bad. He believed that the well (referred to in the prediction) was that bearing the same name, at which the Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and salutations of peace) halted, on the occasion of his flight in company with Abu Bekr. But Mash‘al the ‘Akkite exclaimed: ‘Defend thyself, for this, by Allah, is the well of Duhaym ibn ‘Abs, and that mosque stands on the site of the tent of Umm (the mother of) Ma‘bad, son of al-Ḥārith the ‘Absite.’ On hearing these words,” says Jayyāsh, “aṣ-Sulayhi was overcome with despair, and he wrined into his chain-armoured tunic. He never moved from the place where, he stood, until we struck off his head with his own sword. I was the first to strike him, but one of Najāh’s slaves took part with me in the deed. He it was that pierced aṣ-Sulayhi with his spear, and I struck off his head with my own hand and mounted it upon the shaft of the royal umbrella. I ordered the drums to be beat and the trumpets to be sounded, and I mounted Sulayhi’s Ḥadramauti horse named adh-Dhabbāl. As for ‘Abd Allah son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, the bravest of Arab horsemen, he charged us and killed several of our people. One of our men grappled him, and both fell to the ground. ‘Kill us both,’ cried the man, ‘for my people will rejoice at my not having perished at the hands of the vile.’ Sa‘īd thereupon,” says Jayyāsh, “transfixed both with a spear at one blow.

He then struck off the head of 'Abd Allah, imagining him to be his brother 'Aly the Sulayhite.

"Sa'īd mounted the horse of 'Abd Allah, and with the two heads borne aloft before him he proceeded to the door of the mosque, in which the Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb and wife of as-Sulayhi, was. 'Come forth,' he said to her, and offer thy morning greeting unto the two Sultans! 'May God never bestow upon thee the greeting of his favours, O Abwal!' she replied. And, with her face uncovered, she recited the line composed by Imru' l-Kais the Kindite,—

- 63 Verily none so insolently trample upon thee as — the feeble boaster,
None so arrogant in humbling as he that hath been abased."

"Sa'īd sent a messenger to the five thousand, whom as-Sulayhi had despatched on the previous night with orders to slay him. 'As-Sulayhi,' he said, 'has suffered death. I am a man of your own race, and the honours I gain are acquired by you.' He remained at the gate of the mosque, the two heads set up before him, and the air filled with the sound of the beating of drums, until the men arrived. They saluted him, and with their aid he plundered and captured and massacred the soldiers of as-Sulayhi. Sa'īd," continues Jayyāsh, "became intoxicated with pride, and assumed a haughty demeanour even towards me his brother, son both of his father and of his mother. I advised him to show kindness to the Lady Asma, and to grant an amnesty to the Princes of the Sulayhite family who accompanied her. They were one hundred and seventy in number, all mistrusted by Sulayhi, who feared lest, in his absence, they should betray him. I advised him also to spare the Kahtānite chieftains, who were likewise with her, thirty-five in number, to send, through the Princess, a letter to her son al-Mukarram son of 'Aly, to write that his blood

feud was satisfied, that he had won back his kingdom, that in kindness to al-Mukarram he sent him his mother, guarded and protected, and that he had granted an amnesty to al-Mukarram's kinspeople. 'By Allah, my lord,' I said to him, 'if thou do this, the Banu Kahtān will not dispute thy sovereignty over Tihāmah, and if thou decline my advice, their sense of wounded honour will to a certainty stir and impel them to invade thy country.' Sa'īd answered me in the words of the ancient poet,—

Beware of sparing the viper, after crushing her tail.—If thou art wise, her head shall share the fate of her tail.

"He then ordered the Sulayhites to be brought forth, and they were slain to the last man. The mercy of God be upon them! I saw an old man among them, who sought to protect himself behind his son, and the spear passed through the bodies of both. May God preserve us from the grievous pressure of calamity! I shall never forget," continues Jayyāsh, "the sight of as-Sulayhī's head mounted upon the shaft of the royal umbrella, nor the voice of the Qur'ān reader: *Say, O God, Lord of Empire, Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest it from whom Thou wilt. Thou raisest whom Thou wilt, and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hands is all good, and*
 64 *Thy boundless power is over all things.** Neither can I forget the words of the poet al-'Othmāni, part of an ode which he improvized on the spot, and in which he described the royal canopy:—

How unsightly was his face under its shade!—How comely his head upon its stem!"

Three days after the battle, Sa'īd departed for Zabid, carrying the two heads with him. The vain possession of a kingdom was one of the spoils of his

* Qur'ān, S. iii. v. 25.

victory, together with a large amount of booty. It comprised two thousand horses and three thousand camels, with their harness and furniture. He entered Zabīd on the sixteenth day of the month of Dhū 'l-Ḳa'dah of the year 473, with the heads of aṣ-Ṣulayhī and his brother borne before the litter of the Honourable Lady Asmā daughter of Shihāb. He placed her in the house of Shaḥār, and the two heads were set up opposite her casement.

As'ad ibn Shihāb fled from Zabīd, and took refuge with al-Mukarram at San'ā. The death of aṣ-Ṣulayhī filled the hearts of all men with dread of Sa'īd ibn Najāh. The governors of the (mountain) fortresses seized possession of the places confided to their rule, and the authority of al-Mukarram was all but destroyed. That of Sa'īd in Tihamah, on the contrary, acquired great strength, and he sent persons to Abyssinia to purchase for him twenty (thousand) spearmen. Al-Mukarram continued deprived of all knowledge of his mother, the Honourable lady Asmā daughter of Shihab, until he attacked Zabīd, and rescued her in the manner we have already related. Sa'īd subsequently returned,* recaptured the city, and expelled the governors appointed by al-Mukarram. He continued to rule over it until he was killed in A.H. 481, in the battle of the castle of Sha'ir, the result of a stratagem contrived by Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, and wife of the King al-Mukarram, as has likewise been mentioned.

* From Dahlak, in A.H. 479 (*Khi*).

HOW JAYYASH SON OF NAJĀH WENT TO INDIA, ACCOMPANIED BY THE WAZĪR KĀSĪM AL-MULK ABU SA'ĪD KHALF SON OF ABU ṬĀHIR THE OMAYYAD, DESCENDANT OF SULEYMĀN IBN HISHĀM SON OF 'ABD AL-MALIK.

JAYYASH proceeds with his relation as follows:—
 “After these events I disguised myself, and I went to Aden, accompanied by the wazīr Khalf, son of
 65 Abu Ṭahir. We proceeded to India in the year 481, and after remaining in that country for six months, we returned the same year to Yaman. One of the most wonderful things I experienced in India was on the occasion of our meeting a man who came from Sarandīb. Everyone rejoiced at his presence, and it was believed that he possessed knowledge of the future. Upon our questioning him respecting our affairs, he gladdened us with predictions, not one word of which failed to be accomplished. I bought an Indian slave girl, and she arrived with me in Yaman, being at that time in her fifth month of pregnancy. On landing at Aden, I sent the wazīr Khalf in advance of me to Zabīd, by the sea-board road, and I ordered him to spread reports of my having died in India, to apply for a personal amnesty, to acquaint me with the actual situation of our affairs, and to inform me who of our people remained with the Abyssinians. I myself went to Dhu Jiblah, where I fully acquainted myself with the condition of al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly, how he had given himself over to the pursuit of pleasure, how he had become physically weakened, and how he had abandoned the direction of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad, From the highlands I descended to Zabīd, where I joined the wazīr Ibn Khalf, and received from him

intelligence respecting our friends, our kinsmen and our servants, which filled me with satisfaction. He told me that they were in great numbers in the country, but that they wanted a leader. I assumed the guise of an Indian, allowed my beard to spread over my face, my hair and nails to grow long, and I covered one of my eyes with a black cloth. I dwelt close to the royal palace, and when people went forth in the morning, I used to proceed to the maṣṭabah (bench at the outer gate) of ‘Aly ibn al-Kumm, who was wazīr to the governor appointed by the King al-Mukarram ibn ‘Aly. I heard him say one day (as he went past?), ‘By Allah, if I could find a dog of the family of Najāh, of a certainty I would make him King of Zabīd.’ This was said in consequence of some cause of offence that had arisen between him and the governor As‘ad ibn Shihāb. Husayn, son of ‘Aly the Kummīte, the poet came forth on a certain day. He was at that time the most skilful chess-player of all the inhabitants of Zabīd. ‘Indian,’ he asked me, ‘art thou a good chess-player?’ I answered that I was. We played, and I beat him at the game, whereupon he barely restrained himself from violence against me. He went in to his father and told him that he had been
66 beaten at chess. His father replied that there had never been a person at Zabīd who could overcome him, excepting only Jayyāsh the son of Najāh, and he, he continued, has died in India. ‘Aly, the father of Husayn, then came forth to me. He was an exceedingly skilful player and we played together. I was unwilling to defeat him, and the match ended in a drawn game. He was greatly pleased with me, and admitted me to his intimacy. Every day and every evening he used to say: ‘God speed you unto us, O family of Najāh!’ At night I used to join the wazīr Khalf, and we were parted during the day. I occupied myself, meanwhile, in writing to

the Abyssinians who were scattered in the provinces, bidding them to be in readiness. When five thousand spearmen had assembled, dispersed in the outskirts of the city and within its walls, I told the wazīr Khalf that a certain sum was due to me by 'Omar ibn Sulaym. I desired him to receive ten thousand diwars and to distribute the money among the men who had assembled, which he did. I (again) saw the wazīr at night, and informed him that my Lord the Ka'id Husayn ibn Sulamah had appeared to me in my sleep. He had promised me that the kingdom we desired to regain would return unto us, and that the event would occur on the night of the delivery of the Indian slave girl. Husayn, I moreover told him, after speaking these words, had turned to a man on his right hand and had asked: 'Is it not so, O Prince of the Faithful?' and the man so addressed replied: 'Yea verily, and sovereignty will belong to the descendants of the child for a long period of time.'"³

"I remember that on a certain day," continues Jayyash, "'Aly ibn al-Kum̄m returned from the palace to his own house, in a state of extreme anger. On becoming calmer he said to me: 'Come up, Indian, that I may play chess with thee.' Whilst we were playing, his son Husayn entered and beat one of his slaves with a whip. I was struck by the end of the whip, and I heedlessly uttered an exclamation such as habitually escaped me whenever anything startled me. The words I used were: 'I am Abu 't-'Tāmi!' 'Indian,' asked the old man, 'what is thy name?' I answered, '*Bahr*.' 'Bahr!' he said, 'by Allah! the epithet Abu 't-'Tāmi is well suited to that name.'"⁴ I repented," continues Jayyash, "of what I had said, and I began to mistrust my companions.

"When the time had come for the recovery of our

possessions, in accordance with God's decree, it happened that I played chess with Husayn, the poet, son of al-Kumm. No person was present but 67 his father 'Aly, who sat on a raised seat, giving directions to his son. He promised Husayn that if he defeated me, he would send him to al-Mukarram and to Queen Sayyidah, in charge of the revenues of that year, and that he would give him the present that would, as customary, be offered to the Governor of Tihmah, a sum amounting to several thousand dinārs. I purposely played a careless game with Husayn, desiring to conciliate his father, and I allowed him to win. Husayn became intoxicated with joy and gave vent to his feelings in foolish words, with which he exulted over me. I bore with him for his father's sake, but he stretched forth his hand and snatched away the black cloth that covered one of my eyes. His father stood up reprobating the act, whilst I arose in extreme anger. An involuntary exclamation escaped me according to the habit I had contracted, and I uttered the words: 'I am Jayyāsh!' It was not possible for me to remain, but 'Aly ibn al-Kumm sprang after me, bare-footed and trailing his cloak. He overtook and stopped me, and then bringing forth a copy of the Holy Volume, he swore an oath upon it, which completely tranquillized me. No person was present, and I also took oath unto him. He ordered the palace of aṣ-Ṣulayhi, the Dar al-'Izz, to be vacated. It was carpeted and hung with curtains and the Indian slave girl was removed thither, together with male and female servants, provisions and furniture. He retained me in his house until night had set in, when he allowed me to depart. I entered the palace and found that the slave girl had given birth to my son al-Fātik, between sunset and the hour of evening prayer. 'Aly ibn al-Kumm came to me that night. He warned

me that what had occurred could not long remain concealed from As'ad ibn Shihāb, and in reply I informed him that I had five thousand spearmen in the city. 'Victory is in thy hands,' replied 'Aly; 'declare thyself publicly.' I told 'Aly I was unwilling that harm should befall As'ad ibn Shihāb, who had done all he could for our family and children, and through whose influence they had been spared and treated with kindness. Ibn al-Kunm desired me, in reply, to act therein as I thought proper."

Jayyāsh ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded. The people of the city and five thousand Abyssinians rose in arms along with him. Ibn Shihāb was taken prisoner. "Naught can defend us against you, O family of Najāh," he said to Jayyāsh, "for man's fortunes are as the buckets of a well (which rise full of water for the benefit now of one, then of another). But such as I ask not for mercy." "And such as thou, O Abu Hassān,"
 68 answered Jayyāsh, "shall not suffer harm." Jayyāsh treated As'ad and his children with kindness, and sent him forth with all the property he possessed, and with all his family.

"I took possession," says Jayyāsh, "of the Government House and of its contents, in the morning that followed the night on which my son Fatik was born, and the promises made to me by Husayn ibn Salāmāh were exactly fulfilled.

"Ere a month had elapsed, I was at the head of twenty thousand spearmen, men who were our servants and kinsmen and who were hitherto dispersed in the provinces.* Praised be He who exalteth them that were abased, and giveth abundance unto them that were in want!"

* I have suggested in a note to the Arabic text, the substitution—though not altogether satisfactory—of مستغابين for مستغربين. The word مصممين has since then occurred to me as a more probable reading.

Thenceforward Jayyāsh suffered no material harm at the hands of al-Mukarram, none greater than incursions into the territories of Zabīd. It was in this condition of affairs that Husayn ibn al-Kumm composed the following line, addressed to Jayyāsh upon his slaying the chief Kādi al-Ḥasan (Husayn ?) ibn Abi 'Aḳamah :—

Dost thou flee when al-Mukarram poseth his lance ? - And dost thou display thy bravery agin-t one who neither sought favour nor excited hostility ?

He alluded also to the same subject in an ode which will be mentioned hereafter.

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyash, in laying al-Ḥasan.—
By his wicked slaughter, thou hast destroyed (lit. trans-pierced) the glory (the eye) of his age.

Jayyāsh continued ruler of Tihamah from 482 until the year 498, when he died, in the month of Dhu l-Ḥijjah (the last month of the year). The children he left were al-Fātik son of the Indian concubine, Mansūr, Ibrahim, 'Abd al-Wāhid, adh-Dhakhirah and Mu'arik. It is also said that Jayyāsh died in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 500, but the first-mentioned date is the more probable one.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who however was opposed by his brothers Ibrahim and 'Abd al-Wāhid. The former was a perfect horseman as well as benevolent, cultured and generous, whilst 'Abd al-Wāhid was beloved and trusted by the army. They fought with one another, their father's slaves taking part in their divisions, but eventually al-Fātik son of Jayyāsh triumphed over his brother 'Abd al-Wāhid. He pardoned him, treated him
69 with kindness, enriched him and conciliated him. As for Ibrahim, he took refuge with As'ad ibn Wā'il ibn 'Isa the Wuhāzite, who received him with such hospitality as has never been surpassed. The slaves of Fātik had meanwhile increased in number and had waxed in power.

Fātik died in the year 503, leaving a son Maṣṣūr, below the age of maturity. His father's slaves placed him upon the throne, but Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh, upon the death of his brother Fātik, collected troops and invaded Tihāmah. He was confronted by the slaves of Jayyāsh, and the two parties halted opposite one another near a village named [Huwayb, in Wādi Zabīd]. The city having been vacated by the officials of Fātik, who held the power of Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh in small estimation, 'Abd al-Wāhid, Ibrahīm's brother, arose in arms, took possession of Zabīd and seized the Government House. The eunuchs and servants came forth by night with their master Maṣṣūr, and fearing 'Abd al-Wāhid on his account, they enabled him to escape by letting him down by means of a rope, from the walls of the city. Maṣṣūr took refuge with the retainers of his father Fātik, but the people turned away from him and from his supporters, and attached themselves to 'Abd al-Wāhid on his becoming master of Zabīd, he being beloved by the troops.

When Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh beheld that his brother had forestalled him in the attainment of supreme power at Zabīd and in the possession of the country's strongholds, he joined Husayn ibn Abi 'l-Hafāṭ al-Hajūry, who was at that time at al-Jurayb. The Banu Abi 'l-Hafāṭ belong to the family of the Banu Jurayb son of Sharahbīl, and they are regarded as descendants of Hamdān.⁷⁸ As for al-Maṣṣūr son of Fātik and his father's slaves, they sought refuge with the King al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Banākāt the Himyarite Prince of Ta'kar, and at Dhu Jiblah, with the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad the Sulayhite, at whose hands they met with a hospitable reception. After a time the slaves of Fātik bound themselves by an agreement with al-Mufaddal to relin-

quish in his favour one fourth of their country, in return for his alliance and for his aid against 'Abd al-Wāhid' son of Jayyāsh. Al-Mufaddal accordingly drove 'Abd al-Wāhid out of Zabīd and placed the supporters of Manṣūr in possession of the city. [This was in the year 504.] He then, however, formed a design to act treacherously towards the family of Fātik and to take possession of the country. But he received intelligence that the fortress of Ta'kar had been seized by certain Jurists and that they had possessed themselves of an amount of wealth such as no person had ever known. Al-Mufaddal hastily left Zabīd, turning himself unto no one, and there happened that which we have already related, how he inflicted death upon himself by poison, on beholding his concubines in the midst of men, and clad in bright coloured apparel, singing with tabours in their hands.

Thenceforward supreme power was held by Manṣūr, son of Fātik and by his father's retainers. The descendants of Fātik occupied the throne as Princes of the country, and the wazirs were selected from among the descendants of his slaves. Of these princes there was Manṣūr son of Fātik. Next was Fātik son of Manṣūr, whose mother was the Honourable and virtuous Lady, the distinguished Pilgrim ['Alam]. When Fātik son of Manṣūr died without issue, the succession passed on to the son of his paternal uncle, who bore likewise the name of Fātik, and who was son of Muḥammad son of Manṣūr, son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh (read son of Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh). His accession took place in the year 553 (read in 531, and he perished in 553). With him the dynasty came to an end, and in the year 554 its power passed into the hands of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, who had rebelled in Yaman.

The descendants of Fātik son of Jayyāsh pos-

essed none but the outward attributes of royalty. The Khutbah was recited in their names next after that of the Abbasside Khalifah, the coinage bore their titles, they rode forth under the royal umbrella on festival days, and they ratified the decisions of the Council. But all actual power, that of commanding and forbidding, the conduct of affairs, the defence of the frontiers and the accrediting of envoys, belonged to their slaves the wazirs, the slaves of Fātik son of Jayyāsh and of Mansūr his son. Although these wazirs were Abyssinians, no Arab king surpassed them in personal merit or in aught but in nobility of lineage. They were noted for generosity, for their brilliant estate, and for combining renown in war with celebrated achievements in times of peace.

The first to hold the office of wazir was Anīs al-Fātiki, who was member of an Abyssinian tribe named the *Jazalīs*, to which the kings of the dynasty of Najāh themselves belonged. Anīs was stern and harsh, greatly feared, but brave, celebrated among the people, and just. He fought against the Arabs
 71 with the result that they were effectually deterred from making attacks upon Tihūmah. After a time he became arrogant and tyrannical, and raised for himself a vast and strongly-built palace, the halls of which measured thirty cubits in width, and which contained saloons of the width of forty cubits. He adopted also the use of the royal umbrella, and struck coins in his own name. He formed at length treasonable designs against his master al-Mansūr; but knowledge of his intentions was divulged, through his favourites, to the slaves of Fātik, who contrived a plan for his overthrow. Their master Mansūr son of Fātik [who had attained the years of discretion], prepared a feast in the Government House, to which he invited Anīs, and on the arrival of the wazir he struck off his

head. He made a selection from the goods and harīm of the wazīr. Among that which Mansūr acquired by purchase out of the heritage of Anīs, was a slave girl, an accomplished singer, named 'Ālam, who bore him a son of the name of Fātik. She was the Honourable and pious Lady, the assiduous performer of the pilgrimage by land and by sea, attended by natives of Yaman, whom she protected from the dangers of the journey and against unjust taxation and exactions.

Among other wazīrs, after Anīs, was the Shēykh Maṃn Allāh al-Fāṭiki, the next after Husayn ibn Salāmāh to build walls around Zabīd. In his life are combined things that were creditable to him and others that were discreditable. Of the former were his splendid generosity, his bravery and his gravity of character. He it was who defeated Ibn Nājīb ad-Daulah near the gate of Zabīd, and killed of his followers one hundred Arabs, three hundred Armenian archers and five hundred Blacks. [This was at the end of the year 518.] He fought another battle with As'ad ibn Abī 'l-Futūh, in which upwards of one thousand Arabs were killed. He also granted endowments to the Hanafite and Shafī'ite Jurists' Colleges, which enriched them beyond all other similar establishments, with lands, articles of utility and convenience, and houses. He liberally rewarded his eulogists. I was told by the Jurist Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Aly as-Sahhāmi (the mercy of God be upon him!), who was tutor to the wazīr Maṃn Allāh's sons, that he could remember having bound eulogistic verses in praise
72 of the wazīr, and that they formed ten large volumes, the compositions of excellent, celebrated and well-known poets. It was Maṃn Allāh who expelled Aḥmad ibn Mas'ūd al-Jazuli and Mufliḥ al-Fāṭiki. They were the two leaders of the Abyssinian cavalry, and possessed the power of binding and loosing at

Zabid. The fears they entertained of Mann Allah compelled them to fly, and they sought refuge in the highlands. He thereby acquired absolute power, and his voice became supreme.

Other circumstances in the life of Mann Allah, such as here follow, must be remembered to his discredit. His first act, on being appointed wazīr after the slaying of Anīs, by Maṣṣūr son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh in the year 517, was to bring about the death of his master Maṣṣūr by poison, and to set upon the throne the Prince's son Fātik ibn Maṣṣūr, at that time a young child.⁷⁷

Maṣṣūr, his father Fātik and others of the family of Jayyāsh left at their death more than a thousand concubines. Every one of these fell into the hands of the wazīr Mann Allah, with the exception of ten women, favourites of Maṣṣūr son of Fātik. Among these was the Honourable Lady, the Queen, mother of Fātik son of Maṣṣūr. She forsook the palace and built unto herself a house outside the city, wherein the wazīr could not penetrate by night, either under a false pretence or with valid reason. Such was her position, notwithstanding that her son was King; but she guarded herself from danger by abandoning her son's palace, and she confided the care of the Prince to the eunuchs, his father's slaves. Another of these women was Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh (mother of Abu 'l-Jaysh), a native by birthplace and breeding. She had a daughter by Maṣṣūr, and received the name of Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh on account of the disorders we are relating.⁷⁸ She was of surpassing beauty and an accomplished singer. Her life was prolonged down to my time. I was in the habit of entering into her presence and of sitting before her, being trusted with the care of letters that passed between her and Sulṭān 'Abd Allah ibn As'ad ibn Wā'il the Wuḥāẓite, who had married the daughter she had borne to Maṣṣūr son

of Fātik. Another was the Honourable Lady Riyād. Also the Ladies Umm Abīla, Jinān al-Kubra and Tamamī. The mother of Fātik had no fellow-
73 wife but the last-mentioned.

God having decreed the destruction of Maun Allah al-Fāṭikī, the wazīr fixed his desires upon the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jaiyyāsh, who was celebrated for her beauty, and he asked her to surrender herself to him. She offered to ransom herself with forty virgins chosen from among her slaves, but he refused. She made complaint to the adherents of her uncle Fātik and of her cousin Maṣṣūr son of Fātik, but they dreaded the wazīr and could not help her. Thereupon the Honourable Lady Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh said: "I will protect you against him." She brought the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jaiyyāsh from the royal Palace to her own dwelling, and she then sent a message to Maun Allah:—"You have given rise to reports by your manner of acting," she said to him, "injurious both to yourself and to us. If you had addressed yourself to me, I would have served you effectually and no person would have known." The wazīr was overjoyed and letters passed between him and the Lady, until at length he sent to tell the Princess that he would visit her at her house, in disguise, on the ensuing night. "God," she answered to the messenger, "hath raised the wazīr to an exalted rank, which forbids his doing as he proposes. I myself will visit him at his house." When it was night she accordingly came. She sang to him and he drank, and he was intoxicated with delight. She yielded herself to him, but she then brought about his death by means of a cloth impregnated with a deadly poison. His flesh mouldered away and he died that same night. The son of Maṣṣūr buried the body in his stables. The earth was levelled and smoothed over the grave, and its site continues

unknown unto this day. Mann Allah's death occurred on the night of Saturday, the fifteenth of Jamādi 'l-Awwal of the year 524.⁷⁰

He was succeeded in the office of wazīr to Fātik son of Manṣūr, by Ruzayk al-Fātiki, a brave and generous man.

As to his bravery, it has been related to me by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah the Yāfi'te and Him-yarite, who was secretary to the wazīr, that he saw Ruzayk al-Fātiki one Friday, a memorable day of rivalry between him and Muṣliḥ. Seven spears were pointed against him, he wearing a double suit of mail. He cut through the greater number of the spears with his sword, and although two struck him, he retained a firm seat in his saddle. Muṣliḥ 74 called out: "Cut down the horse, or the rider will not fall to the ground!" Ruzayk thereupon charged Muṣliḥ, and with one blow aimed at the horse's back behind the saddle, he divided the animal into two separate parts. Muṣliḥ fell to the ground, and the Banu Mash'al, who are an Arab tribe,* interposed for his protection. As to his generosity, it was chiefly shown to poets.

No man could eat so much as he, and his power to devour large quantities of food was such, that it became proverbial. He had thirty children, male and female. [After his death], the claims of the heirs to his estate and of those among his children and his children's children who died before the division, passed from one to another. The rights to the succession became subdivided and the problem of the division so complicated, that not one among the Doctors of the law was able to undertake its solution. The wazīr Muṣliḥ, and the Kā'ids Iḳbāl and Mas'ūd, retainers of Fātik, were each desirous of making purchases of land and houses from the estate, but were unable to do so in consequence of

* See Note 90.

the impossibility of determining the portion belonging to each heir.

In the year 589 I found at Aden an old man, a native of Hadramaut, of the name of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib (the Reckoner). He was an accountant, skilled in the laws of inheritance, upwards of eighty years of age, and he was on his way to perform the pilgrimage. He was extremely poor and had never, since God created him, possessed so much as two dinārs. He disbelieved the statement of any person who asserted he had seen a sum of one thousand dinārs, for he had been brought up in a part of the country of Kindah adjoining ar-Raml. A ship was wrecked on the neighbouring sea-shore, and one of the persons on board, a learned and pious man, was cast on shore on the sands of ar-Raml, in the country of Kindah. This was the Sheikh Aḥmad al-Farādy the Jurist.*

I took him to my dwelling-place at Aden, I clothed him and gave orders that he should be hospitably treated and fed, that he be cleansed and that his beard and his hands and feet be stained with henna. Having thus provided for his comfort, we travelled together on the same camel from Aden to Zabid, balancing one another's weight in the litter on either side. I promised that he should accompany me on the pilgrimage and that I would
75 supply him with all his requirements. He rejoiced thereat, and relying upon my promises, his mind was set at ease.

I spoke to him one night, as we were riding, on the subject of the succession of the family of Ru-zayk, in which there were fifty-one separate interests. He rehearsed the particulars as if he were learning them by rote, and continued thus until dawn. Sleep

* The above and the foregoing passages are printed as they stand in the MS. They have suffered greatly at the hands of the copyists, but the general sense is sufficiently plain.

did not take possession of me, owing to my exceeding rejoicing over his learning. He then said to me that if I would consent to halt at the well we had reached, foregoing our journey for that day, he would undertake not to recite his midday prayers without having first solved the problems of the division and acquainted me with the share of each heir, one by one. I agreed to his proposal, and at the hour of the midday meal he handed over to me a complete statement of the division, written by his hand. And, by Allah! a long period of time had been spent, in combined efforts to solve the problem, by ‘Othmān ibn eṣ-Ṣaffār, by Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī as-Saḥḥāmī, and by other experts in the laws of succession, each one of whom affected to regard Ibn al-Ḥabbān as a mere learner and follower of his own, in all matters relating to the laws of inheritance, to wills and bequests, to astronomical calculations (?), and to the science of integration and compensation (*al-Jabar wa ’l-Muqābilah*, i.e. Algebra). For a long period of time, the wazirs had been in the habit of inviting these men to banquets and of rewarding them with presents, which were fruitlessly divided amongst them.

On our arrival at Zabīd I lodged the Jurist in the inner part of the house, so that none but myself should see him. At night I studied under him the laws of inheritance, and by day the reading of the noble Qur’ān, according to the teaching of Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Alā,⁸¹ the seven readings being one of the subjects upon which the Jurist gave instruction. I next devoted myself to the problem relating to the heirs of Ruzayk, until I was able to repeat all the particulars to myself by rote. I then presented myself to the Kā’id Surūr al-Fātiki, and asserted my ability to solve the problem. He was one of the persons most keenly desirous of making purchases from the estate, and he promised that if my

assertions proved correct, he would give me a certain sum of money, the amount of which I have forgotten. Upon the statement being prepared, he brought forth the money and handed it over to the Jurist Abu Muḥammad ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Kāsim al-Abbār. Ibn al-Kāsim was at that time chief of the Shāfi‘ites at Zabīd, and it was under him that I studied the Shāfi‘ite doctrines. Surūr then assembled the Jurists in rooms, the floors of which were spread with fine sand, and each one sat down apart from the other, tracing his calculations in the sand. Whenever the amount of a share was substantiated, it was transferred from the sand to paper, until the division of the entire estate was completed and proved to be correct. Surūr never moved from the spot until he had divided the money among the Jurists, and he gave me a large share. I returned to my house and placed the gold before the Ḥaḍramauti Jurist. “I ask forgiveness of God, O my son,” he said, “for whosoever told me that he had beheld one hundred dinārs, I used to treat as a liar.” He then gave me the money, saying he had no use for it, since I provided him with all that he required. I took him with me, and he died (may God have mercy upon him), after having completed the pilgrimage. When the Abyssinians of Zabīd sought to kill me in the year 550, the Kā’id Surūr said unto them, “Is he not the person who solved the problem of the estate of Ruzayk? By Allah! he shall not be slain!”

Ruzayk was not skilled in military administration, neither was he possessed of experience in the management of public business. Ere long he resigned the office of wazīr, and Abu Mansūr Muḥṣin al-Fāṭiki, who was then absent in the Highlands, was called upon to fill his place.

WAZĪRATE OF MUFLĪḤ AB-FĀTIKĪ.

MUFLĪḤ belonged to an Abyssinian tribe known by the name of *Saḥrat*. He bore the surname of Abu Maṣṣūr (father of Maṣṣūr), the latter being the name of one of his sons. (Abu) Maṣṣūr was noted among the most distinguished of his contemporaries for his righteousness, and was remarkable also for his knowledge of affairs, for his skill as a Jurist, for his literary culture, for his handsome appearance, his bravery, his clemency, and for the perfection of his talents as a leader. People were in the habit of saying that, had his lineage been that of Quraysh, every condition required to fit him for the office of Khalifah would have been combined in his person. The retainers of Fatik nicknamed him *al-Baḡhl*, the mule. He was called MuflīḤ al-Baḡhl, and he showed no displeasure nor anger thereat. I was told by his secretary, Ḥimyar ibn As'ad, that he was so named on account of a physical conformation, in which he resembled a mule.

He was distinguished for continence, and was never known to have been the prey of passion, either in his youth or in his mature age. Ḥimyar related in illustration of his master's self-control, that MuflīḤ, when holding the office of wazir, sent for him one day, and complained that life had become a weariness unto him through the reports he continually
 77 heard respecting the singing of Wardah, the slave girl of the Amir 'Othmān al-Ghuzzi, and the descriptions he received of her beauty. He was bent, he said, upon contriving means whereby she might be brought to him. "I answered," said Ḥimyar, "that if the wazir sought her society for the satisfaction to his desires, my best faculties would be used in his service. 'By Allah!' he replied, 'I have never yet, since the day of my creation, allowed my passions to make me sin against God.' 'At

what price,' I asked, 'will then the wazīr purchase hor?' 'At whatever price hor master demands,' he answered."

Her master was a distinguished leader, a man of high rank in the service of the state, greatly respected and considered. He was commander of the Ghuzz (Turkish or Northern soldiery), whom Jayyāsh had brought to the country to fight against Saba ibn Aḥmad the Sulayhite. 'Othmān was their leader and chief. They numbered four hundred mounted archers, and with their assistance the Abyssinian dynasty defended itself against the Arabs. The body of troops, as originally enlisted by Jayyāsh, numbered three thousand bows, but when two thousand marched from Mecca for Zabīd, Jayyāsh repented of his design, perceiving that they would drive him out of the country and seek to take possession of it. In anticipation of their arrival, he sent orders to the officers he had placed in command of the Ghuzz at Mecca, to cast poison into their food, into their drink, and into their raiment. A great number died, and only one thousand horsemen, or less, reached Zabīd. Jayyāsh sent five hundred to the highlands, and they conquered the districts trodden by the hoofs of their horses. When they reached the province of Ṣan'ā, Jayyāsh employed a person to spread death among them by poison. They were finally exterminated through the effects of war and of other calamities, and there remained with Jayyāsh in Tihāmah only four hundred and fifty horsemen. He made them a grant of a wide tract of land, extending to a valloy (or river) known by the name of Dhu'āl, a district inhabited by the 'Akkites and Ash'arites. These lands occupied a width of one day's journey, and in length, from the mountains to the sea, a space of two days or less. They were distant one day's journey from Zabīd.⁸² The Ghuzz continued to collect the

him into his confidence. He died at al-Kadrā in the year 553, at the age of upwards of seventy years. When he visited Zabīd, where he had no kinsfolk, he used to take up his abode with me and with other friends, and he was in consequence on terms of familiarity and unreserve with me.

Himyar, proceeding with his narrative, said, "When the wine began to produce its effects upon 'Othmān, he spoke to me as follows: 'I have longed,' he began, 'to meet you, being desirous of settling matters with that tyrannical slave Muflih, and of finding means to be left in peaceful possession of our fields and of our property, which we did not acquire in his days and for the possession of which we are not indebted to his liberality.' I answered that notwithstanding the wazir's self-sufficiency and pride, he was in reality of a kind disposition and quick to turn back from harsh measures. I promised that on the following day, when Muflih returned from his morning visit to the King, I would, God willing, strive to prevail upon the wazir to act indulgently. 'I know,' I continued, 'that if he eat at your table and drink of your wine, and if your slave girls sing to him, he will feel shame and will renounce his design.' 'Othmān was almost beside himself with joy, though he could not believe that the wazir would visit him. I advised
80 him to come on the following night, uninvited, to the house of the wazir, and to announce himself as a guest who desired to be honoured by being allowed to share in the pleasures of music and wine. On the following night, when 'Othmān came to us, I advised the wazir to bring forth the singing girls and female cup-bearers. He did so, and he promised 'Othmān that he would, on the next day, be his guest. A large sum of money was that night by 'Othmān's orders brought to his house. On the following day, after the usual morning

attendance at the Prince's palace, we rode to 'Othmān's place of abode. We found sumptuous banquets spread out (for the several classes of guests). For one party alone I counted thirty roasted sheep and thirty vessels of sweetmeats. The banquet at which the wazīr was seated, occupied the front of 'Othmān's garden, from one end to the other, a length of fifty cubits. The wazīr on beholding the sight was filled with envious anger against 'Othmān, for the arrogance he attributed to him and for the promptitude with which he was able to provide so splendid a feast, composed of four separate banquets. 'Othmān next distributed among the members of the wazīr's suite three *buhārs* of sweetmeats, a quantity equal to nine *kanṭars* (nine hundred pounds).^{*} We then withdrew to the wine-room, seven in number, [besides myself, the eighth. I acted as cup-bearer and contrived to produce intoxication in five members of our company, who soon withdrew].⁸¹ Thereupon, addressing 'Othmān, I said: 'Truly thou art as one of a herd of cattle, deprived of sense. Think-est thou that the wazīr hath visited thee for the sake of meat or drink? What hath happened to abridge thine understanding and to blind thine eyesight?' 'Instruct me then how to act,' he replied. I desired him to enumerate his possessions. He spoke of horses and accoutrements, camels and articles of curiosity and of value. I objected to all these things, and I affected to depreciate them. He begged me to advise him. I desired him, in reply, to think of a present such as would not be hidden away in a treasury, and which would never be out of the recipient's sight. 'What is wanted,' I added, 'is that the present should, whenever he sees it, remind him of you.' After consideration he said: 'I have nought else but Wardah, and she is

^{*} See Note 71.

dear to me as my soul. But if she be suitable, I will part with her, even though I die.' 'If the wazīr consent to accept of her,' I replied, 'she is such as will be a suitable present.' 'Speak then of her to the wazīr,' he answered, 'and if he accept her, I will reward thee with one thousand dinārs.'

"We then ordered Wardah to be brought into our presence, together with nine other slave girls. They kissed the wazīr's hand and commenced singing before him, with uncovered faces. I advised the wazīr to pay no heed to Wardah and to pretend admiration of the others. He did so, with the effect of stimulating her master's desire that he should accept of her. After a time 'Othmān became intoxicated and slept. The women likewise were overcome with wine, all but Wardah, who, I desired, should retain her faculties. I made use of a pretext to leave the room, and sending for Wardah, I informed her of the facts of the case. 'I have no desire,' she replied, 'but to my lord.' I then requested the wazīr to enter a sitting-room, in which I joined him along with Wardah. He flattered her with promises and coaxed her. I wanted to leave, but he stopped me, saying: 'By Allah, this shall not be.' We returned to the public room, and I swear that the wazīr did not even satiate his eyesight, nor did he allow the girl to kiss his hand when bidding farewell. When her master recovered, we took leave of him. It was near the latest hour for evening prayer, and before it had lapsed, Wardah stood before us. In the morning I went back to 'Othmān. I restored the thousand dinārs he had given me, and I questioned him touching a farm in the valley of Dhu'al.⁵⁶ The wazīr sent for me in the evening and gave me a dress of honour. 'Your daughter Wardah,' he said, 'has sworn that I shall not approach her until I have satisfied you. What, therefore, will content you?' 'The lands

of 'Abāda,' I replied, 'with all the contents of the farm, its growing crops and its cattle.' The wazīr ordered the lands to be conveyed to me; and they are a possession," added Himyar, "which has the property of never occasioning loss to its proprietor."*

To return to the stories told of the wazīr Muṣṭafī. Among them is that related by the Sheykh Abu 'l-Ṭāmi Jayyāsh, son of Isma'īl, son of Albūka. At
 §2 an early period of the wazirate of the Sheykh and Kā'id Muṣṭafī, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī ibn al Ḥabbāb arrived at Zabīd from Egypt. He purchased an Abyssinian slave to attend upon him. The Abyssinian escaped from his master [and attached himself to certain of the wazīr's dependants. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī thereupon wrote to the wazīr] two lines of verse as follows :—⁵⁰

Thou art the cloud whose beneficent floods fertilize the outspread earth.—Its bounty, a fortuitous obstacle has withheld from me.

But if its ample and generous showers do not refresh me—Even so its consuming thunderbolts will not come near me.

Muṣṭafī, on reading the lines, perceived their veiled meaning, and he awoke to the merits of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī. He sent for the youth and returned him to his master accompanied by a gift of four other slaves of the same nation. He invited Abu 'l-Ma'ālī to his court and commanded him to compose a eulogistic ode. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī obeyed, and recited it in the presence of the wazīr, who rewarded him with five hundred dinārs. Maṣṣūr son of Muṣṭafī gave him likewise three hundred dinārs for another ode written in his own praise, and he took him to Mecca, may God guard it.

I will now relate what occurred to Muṣṭafī with the soldiery. Certain men among the slaves of the

* I need perhaps hardly say that the combination of jingle and pun, which I have here endeavoured to imitate, is a thing much appreciated by Arab readers.

Honourable Lady the Queen, (‘Alam) the mother of Fātik, were brought up in the palace of al-Fātik son of Maṣṣūr. Their names were Ṣawāb, Rayḥān, Yumn, [‘Anbar ?] and Rayḥān the elder. They were the leading personages, and holders of the highest rank in the state. Besides these there were certain powerful men, likewise educated in the palace, namely Ikbāl, Maṣṣūr (or Burḥān ?), Bārīh (?) and Surūr. The last mentioned was the chief of both parties, the foremost in influence and in ability. These men spoke in the name of the Sultān. The wazīr, in all the affairs of the kingdom, became as a stranger among them, and by their aid, the authority of the Queen was greatly increased. They contrived also to attach to themselves a large portion of the troops, both horsemen and foot soldiers, and they began to concert measures for the expulsion of Muṣṣīḥ from Zabīd. Surūr advised them to address themselves to the wazīr on the subject of a pilgrimage, to be performed by the Queen to Mecca, and to ask him to provide her with a sum of thirty thousand dinārs for her expenses. On application
83 being made to the wazīr, he refused, saying that the money could be spent more worthily on the defence of the state against its enemies than in the indulgence of such foolish whims. “Our Lady,” he added, “has ample occupation with her spindle and distaff and in the privacy of her own house.” They continued to press the matter upon him until he exclaimed : “Our Lady wants a totally different thing ! See that ye find it for her and it will satisfy her.” “What then does she want ?” they asked. Muṣṣīḥ’s reply and the gesture by which it was accompanied, caused such deep offence, that he could repair the evil only by consenting to the Lady’s pilgrimage, by supplying her with the thirty thousand dinārs and by sending his son Maṣṣūr to accompany her to Mecca.

In pursuance of his purpose for the expulsion of Muḥliḥ, Surūr then sent the wazīr to Aden, to make war upon Sabā son of Abu Su'ūd and upon 'Alī son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, the Zuray'ites. When he had reached the distance of a night's journey from Zabīd, Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyūsh suddenly rose in rebellion against the Queen and her son, and thereby obliged Muḥliḥ to return.

Surūr then sought to bring about the departure of Muḥliḥ by writing to the Arab tribes of Zī'l and 'Imrān to join in the invasion of the district of al-Mahjam, then occupied by the Ka'id Mas'ūd the Zaydite.* Muḥliḥ was thereby compelled to start for al-Mahjam, a distance from Zabīd of three days' journey. He had not accomplished more than one night's journey, when his troops secretly deserted him and returned to the city. He was left with only his personal dependants and marched with them to the mountains of Burā'. He took possession of the fortress of al-Mukarrishah (al-Karish?)⁸⁷ and he attacked Tihāmah, harassing it with raids, in the early morning and late at eve, whilst the retainers of Fātik attacked him in his encampments. Then leaving his women in the fortress, he joined the Arabs of al-Mahjam, members of the tribes of

84 Mash'al, 'Imrān and Zī'l, accomplished and valiant horsemen. They gave him, as place of residence, a fortress which belonged to them, situated at a distance from al-Mahjam of half a day's journey or less, known by the name of Dabsin. Muḥliḥ despatched depredating parties into the territories of al-Mahjam, and he entered into correspondence with the Amīr and Sharīf Ghānim son of Yahya the Suleymānite and Ḥasanite, who then ruled over the province of Ibn 'arf.⁸⁸ Muḥliḥ entered into a pledge with the Sharīf and his kinsmen to abolish the tribute they rendered to the Prince of Zabīd,

* Or, according to Khazraji, Surūr al-Kurandi.

for which Ghānim was yearly liable and which amounted to sixty thousand dinārs. He also engaged to add to their territories the wide district of al-Wādiyāni. The Sharīf marched with one thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, to the aid of Muflīḥ against the people of Zabīd. The allies were encountered by the Kā'id Surūr, who defeated Muflīḥ, the Sharīfs and the Arabs, near al-Mahjam. Whilst Surūr was at that place, he received from Zabīd a deed of investiture, granting him the territories and dependencies of al-Mahjam, consisting of Maur and al-Wādiyāni. Surūr established his residence in the province, and Muflīḥ returned to the fortress of al-Karish, where he died in the year 529.*

His son Maṣṣūr succeeded him and continued the war with his father's enemies, making them taste of its calamities in many forms. But after a time his followers began to desert him, and their numbers gradually diminished. They were wearied with the sufferings of war and with separation from their homes.

Maṣṣūr surrendered [himself to the Kā'id Surūr, claiming his protection, and accompanied him to Zabīd, where Iḳbāl was then wazīr. The young Amīr received a dress of honour] and his father's house was given him as a place of residence. On the following morning he was seized, and at night he was slain in the house of the wazīr Iḳbāl. The King Fātik [and the Kā'id Surūr] denounced the act, and the King meditated putting Iḳbāl to death, but he resolved to spare his life for a time. I was told by Ḥimyar ibn As'ad, that a messenger from the wazīr Iḳbāl bought poison of him. For whom it was destined, Ḥimyar swore he knew not. Iḳbāl, by ingratiating himself with the Prince, succeeded in administering the poison to his master Fātik son

* In A.H. 527, according to al-Janādī.

of the Lady 'Alam, and the Prince died in the month of Sha'bān [A.H. 531].⁸⁹

Wardah, the slave girl of the wazīr Muflīh, relates 85 that when her master died in the highlands, at the castle named al-Karish, or al-Mukarrishah, she was asked in marriage by the wazīr Ikbāl, by the Kā'id Surūr, by the Kā'id Ishāk ibn Marzūk and by the Kā'id 'Alī ibn Mas'ūd, Prince of Hays. "I made flattering promises to the messenger of each," she said, "but I consulted on the subject my lord Mansūr son of Muflīh. He indicated his preference for Surūr, but recommended me to seek advice of Himyar ibn As'ad. I accordingly sent for him to Tihamah. 'As for 'Alī ibn Mas'ūd,' said Himyar, 'he has ninety concubines and four wives. As for Ikbāl, he has twenty singing girls; he has moreover Nājiyah, who has been carefully educated by the slave dealers, and the love he bears her son Mansūr is carried to an extreme. As for the Kā'id Ishāk ibn Marzūk, he has the daughter of 'Uwayd, mother of his son Faraj, and also Uhdūla, the daughter of his uncle. By Allah, none equal to her treads the ground of Tihamah. I recommend to you the Kā'id Abu Muḥammad Sūrūr al-Fātiki. He is a man of a prudent disposition, and he was reared by the King Fātik son of Mansūr (by Mansūr's) and by our Lady the mother of Fātik.' I was married," continued Wardah, "to the Kā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr al-Fātiki. I found him to be one whose thoughts were diverted from the world, from the society of women and from pleasure, by his absorption in affairs of supreme importance. But ere long I made him feel his dependence upon me. I contrived to make myself his intimate companion, and I finally obtained complete ascendancy over him. With all his roughness and severity of character, and the shrinking fear with which his female slaves regarded him, he never

opposed my wishes, and if I happened to be displeased with him, he seemed as if about to part with his life."

An illustration of the above is to be found in an anecdote related by Sheykh Muslim ibn Yashjub, wazīr of the Prince and Sharīf Ghānim son of Yahya the Hasanite. "I came," he said, "from my country as an envoy to Surūr al-Fāṭiki, to negotiate a truce between ourselves and him. His wazīr 'Obayd ibn Baḥr said to me: 'Would that thine arrival had happened either sooner or later! Thou hast come to the Kā'id at a moment when his mind is greatly disturbed.' I waited two or three days without being able to see the Prince, but then Him-
86 yar ibn As'ad arrived. 'Now,' said 'Obayd ibn Baḥr, 'Himyar having come, the knot that caused thy trouble is unloosed!' 'How is that?' I inquired. 'Wardah, mother of 'Amru,' he answered, 'is angry with the Kā'id, and has sworn that she will not speak to him nor allow him to approach her, until her father shall come to her'—meaning thereby Sheykh Himyar ibn As'ad. That same night," continued Muslim, "we were invited to an assembly, for which were prepared wine and music and perfumes. We had hardly sat down, when the Kā'id approached and we saluted him. We then heard behind a curtain a confused sound of voices and a jingling of gold ornaments, such as never was before. And behold it was Wardah, who, a reconciliation having been effected by Himyar between her and her master, now came to sing to him. An unfavourable impression was produced upon me by the sight of the helplessness and weakness of Surūr. He seemed to guess what was passing in my mind, and he recited the words of the poet:—

We are a people whom a woman's large and lustrous eyes will melt—And we are men to whom iron must yield."

Among the slaves of Fātik was he with the mention of whom I conclude this account of the Abyssinian dynasty, and whose mention I have postponed to the last, although in order of merit he unquestionably ranks first. He of whom I speak was the noble Ka'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr Amḥarah al-Fāiki. He belonged to the Abyssinian tribe of *Amḥarah*, and all I can relate of him is but as a drop in the sea of his great merits.

Of his early history it may be recorded that Maṣṣūr ibn Fatik, having slain the wazir Amṣ, purchased from his estate the Honourable and pious Lady, the Pilgrim and Lady of Zabid, by whom he had a son, whom he named Fatik ibn Maṣṣūr. She bought for her son certain young Abyssinian slaves, of whom Surūr was one. He was brought up under her immediate care, and ere long, as he advanced in years, he became distinguished for his superior merits and great qualities. She placed him in charge of the Mamlūks, and appointed him chief over all who abode in the palace. He became ruler and director, with the power of showing indulgence and of exercising severity. He was next appointed to the command of a division of the army, and he won popularity among the troops by his kindness and indulgence. He continued to advance in dignity, and became the intermediary between the
87 principal wazirs and the Sultān, who thenceforward dispensed with the services of the stewards of the palace. The Chief Steward at that time was the Sheykh Sawāb, a religious man, who devoted himself exclusively to the worship of God. Whenever he was reproached for his disregard of what had occurred, he would answer that the Ka'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr was the authorized holder of the right to command and to forbid, over himself, over his censors, and over the Queen herself, and that in no wise should Surūr's authority be curtailed, he

being the most worthy to direct the affairs of the people, to reward and to punish, to bind and to loose.. Surūr continued to advance in power and dignity. He eventually succeeded in driving Muṣṭafī out of Zabīd, and he made war upon him until his adversary died in the highlands, after prolonged fighting, in which large numbers of men perished on both sides. The final result was the triumph of Surūr, and he became possessed of supreme authority.

It has been related to me by Shēykh 'Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Isma'īl, secretary of the Kā'id Surūr, that he remembered the occasion when the Amīr and Sharif Ghānim, son of Yahya the Ḥasanite, marched to the assistance of Muṣṭafī. "Ghānim," he said, "had a thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, all of whom combined with the troops of Muṣṭafī. They were joined also by certain Arabs, in great numbers, by the Banu Mash'al, men who spent their lives in the saddle and who were the champions of their age, by the Banu 'Imrān, the Banu Zī'l, the Banu Ḥarām and the Ḥakamites.⁸⁸ All gathered together into one body and advanced against us. Our troops were few in number, and the Kā'id Surūr had written to the people of Zabīd for re-inforcements. The battle was fought at al-Mahjam, which is three days' journey from Zabīd." 'Abd al-Muḥsin said he pointed out to Surūr, that to attack these people would surely be rashness, his forces being in comparison to theirs as a drop in the sea, or as a morsel between the jaws of a ravenous animal. "Be silent," answered Surūr, "for, by Allah, death will be lighter unto me than
 88 defeat." The two armies engaged, and the fortunes of the day went against Muṣṭafī and Ghānim and their allies. Thenceforward conviction of the high destinies reserved for Surūr acquired double strength in the minds both of his friends and of his opponents.

It was previous to these events that Muflih started from Zabid for Aden, and that when he had reached the distance of half a day's journey, Muhammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh, seeing the town denuded of troops, rose in insurrection, and gained possession of the Government House. The Kur'ān readers came into his presence and the people of the city flocked unto him, offering their congratulations. His wazīr was Mansūr son of Mann Allah al-Fātiki. The Queen took refuge, along with her son, in the upper apartments of the palace. The news was brought to the Kā'id Surūr, who commanded the rearguard of the army. He turned back, and having scaled the walls, he entered the town. He proceeded to the back of the Government House, and calling to his mistress, he made himself known unto her, and desired her servants to let down a rope for him. The eunuchs and women pulled him up with ropes, and entering into the presence of his mistress, he saluted her and quieted her fears. His troops, he told her, were following him. Having selected one hundred slavegirls and fifty eunuchs, he habited them in the garb of men and supplied them with armour and weapons. The casements were then thrown open, and the women and eunuchs cried aloud with one voice: *Fātik son of Mansūr!* Muhammad son of Fātik was at that moment occupying a raised seat below the windows of the palace. The Kā'id cast a stone which unerringly hit the mark, and striking Muhammad ibn Fātik, bruised his face at the same instant of time when the cry was uttered. He, the wazīrs and their followers instantly fled, and in the evening they left the city by one of its gates. The soldiers did not reach Zabid until noon of the following day. These were some of the circumstances which necessarily operated to bring about Surūr's advancement over all other members of the government.

He next acquired rule over al-Mahjam, a royal seat of government. The Arabs, the Banu ‘Imrān, 89 the Banu Zi‘l and the Ḥakamites, dispersed themselves; and the Amīr Ghānim ibn Yalīya the Ḥasanite, whose dynasty has acquired great renown, separated himself from his allies.

The Kā'id Surūr used to inhabit Zabīd from the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah (the eleventh month) until the end of Sha'bān (the eighth). Then he would leave Zabīd and spend Ramaḍān at al-Mahjam, occupying himself with the affairs of his province. His expenditure and charities in the month of Ramaḍān, amounted to a large sum. Sheykh ‘Obayd ibn Baḥr, his wazīr, informed me that the allowances for his kitchen expenses, in the month of Ramaḍān, amounted to one thousand dinārs a day. I witnessed for several years the ceremonial attending his entrance into Zabīd. The people, on his arrival from al-Mahjam, used to go forth from the city in crowds to meet him. They divided themselves into classes and stood on a lofty hill awaiting his arrival. The first to salute him were the Jurists of the Malīkite, the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi‘ite schools. The Prince used to dismount in token of respect; a thing he did for no other class. They were followed by the merchants, after whose departure the soldiery came forth in crowds. On entering the city, after saluting and paying due honour to the Sulṭān, he proceeded to the palace of the Honourable Lady his mistress. On his entering, all who were present, young and old, withdrew, with the exception only of the Lady's slave girl Ghazāl, who was his wife's sister, and of two slave girls formerly belonging to her Lord Maṣṣūr ibn Fārik. These women conducted themselves according to her pious example and imitated her in her good works. On his approach, the Princess would rise from her seat in token of welcome and of

respect for his exalted rank, and she would say unto him : "Thou, O Abu Muḥammad, art not simply our wazīr, but our master and the manly ruler of the kingdom, one whose authority it is not in aught lawful unto us to disregard."⁹¹ He would weep aloud in her presence and bend down his face to the dust, until she would raise him from the ground with her own hands. The women would then withdraw to a short distance at the end of the saloon, whilst he reported to her the measures he desired to be put into execution that year, appointments, supersessions, rewards and sentences of death. He would remain seated before the Princess,⁹² with the
90 three women standing near him, until he arose for midday prayer. He used to repair for the purpose to his mosque, which stood close to the gates of his palace. It was then impossible to follow him on account of the crowds that surrounded him, composed of people who had been unable to go forth from the city to meet him on his arrival.

A PARAGRAPH DESCRIBING WHAT I HAVE SEEN IN THE
HANDWRITING OF HIS SECRETARIES.

I have seen a list of the gratifications which Surūr was in the habit of conferring, on his arrival at Zabīd, upon the Jurists, ḫādīs, and upon the most distinguished scholars, learned in the traditions, in grammar, glossology, theology, and jurisprudence. The whole amounted each year to twelve thousand dinars, besides gratuities to the military classes, notwithstanding their great numbers.

I have been told by 'Obayd ibn Baḥr and others, that the presents he made each year to the Sulṭān's officials, to the King's nobles, stewards and personal retainers, amounted to twenty thousand dinārs, in addition to the fixed emoluments of each person's office. Others have told me that the sums transferred from his province to the public treasury

of the King, amounted each year to sixty thousand dinārs, and that he used to pay over to the household of his mistress the Princess, to her retainers and companions and to the persons under her protection, in the form of presents, fifteen thousand dinārs.

91 ANOTHER PARAGRAPH.—The Kā'id Abū Muḥammad Surūr al-Fātiki—May God have mercy upon him!—was in the habit of going forth unto his mosque, after the expiration of half or one third of the night. He was better acquainted than any other person with the places of abode and habitations of the principal people. He used to say that he went forth at that hour, lest any persons spending their nights in anxiety or grief, or others devoted to religious practices, were unable to come into his presence by day, either on account of the crowd or by reason of their bashfulness. After morning prayer he used to go either on a visit to a Jurist, to the bedside of some sick person, to a house where there was mourning for the dead, to a feast or to a wedding. He did not confine his visits to the great military chiefs, to the learned and to merchants, and neglect those of a humbler rank. Whosoever, on the contrary, appealed to him was attended to. People who believed themselves to be oppressed came into his presence, and stated their case in bold and even in unseemly language. Such a person was safe from all danger of awakening his sense of dignity and pride, or of provoking his anger. If sent for by the Judges, he attended in person, not deputing another to take his place [as is done by men puffed up with pride, even though of inferior rank]. He would seat himself opposite the Judge in token of respect, and in testimony of his willing obedience to the ordinances of divine law. [On returning to the palace, after accompanying the Sultān's procession, he would enter,

and after rendering obeisance, he would stop at the royal gate, where he dispensed justice to the people with perfect judgment. (Next he would occupy himself in the transaction of military) business, and at the hour of the midday meal, he returned to his house. There he would rest until the sun began to decline, when he would proceed to the mosque.]⁹² From that time until the hour of afternoon prayer, he occupied himself exclusively in hearing the authentic traditions of the Apostle of God, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace! He would then withdraw to his palace, but before sunset he would come forth to the mosque, and after sunset prayer, the Jurists would engage in debates before him until the end of the latest hour for evening prayer, sometimes, however, prolonging their discussions to a later hour. He used then, riding an ass and with only one servant before him, to proceed to the palace of the Queen, to take counsel with her upon public affairs.

Such was his mode of life from the year 529 until he was slain in his mosque at Zabīd (May God be merciful unto him!), whilst performing the third prostrations of afternoon prayer, on Friday the 12th of Rajab [A.H. 551]. He was killed by a man of the name of Mujrim, one of the followers of 'Aly ibn Mahdy. The murderer was put to death that same evening, after killing several persons.⁹³ The Abyssinian dynasty did not long endure after the death of Surūr. It was subverted by 'Aly ibn Mahdy, who conquered Zabīd and its dependencies, in the year 554.

92 I will now proceed with an account of 'Aly ibn Mahdy in Yaman. In that chapter I will set forth a summary comprising the outset and the close of his career.

THE INSURRECTION OF 'ALY IBN MAHDY IN YAMAN.

As to his lineage, he was a descendant of Himyar, and his name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, native of a village named al-'Anbarah, situated on the coast near Zabīd. His father was a virtuous and pure-hearted man, whose son 'Aly was brought up in his religious tenets and followed his examples, in his devotion to religious exercises and to the practice of good works. After a time 'Aly went on the pilgrimage and visited the holy places. He met the pilgrims, the doctors and preachers of 'Irāk, and he became filled with the knowledge they imparted to him. On his return to Yaman he led a life of retirement, but he exhorted the people, warning them against association with the soldiery.⁴ He was an eloquent man, of prepossessing appearance, dark complexioned, with sunken cheeks, bearded, tall, of a spare figure, and marked between his eyes with the traces of his prostrations.⁵ He had an agreeable voice, which he skillfully modulated in chanting, and a winning manner of imparting instruction. He possessed a well-stored memory, was constant in exhorting, and in expounding the Qur'ān and the teaching of the Sūfis. He used to speak of things that were reserved to him in the future, and the accurate fulfilment of his predictions became one of the most powerful means by which he won the hearts of the people.

His career commenced on the coast of Zabīd, in the village of al-'Anbarah, in that of Wasīt, that of Qudayb, at al-Ahwāb, al-Mu'tafi (?) and the shores of al-Farah (al-'Ārah?). He used to journey thence, and the respect in which he was held ever increased with the lapse of time. I had at that

* Janadi and Khazmji here add that Ibn Mahdy's public career commenced in A.H. 531.

period devoted myself to him, and for the space of a year I was in almost constant attendance upon him. But my father heard that I had abandoned the study of Jurisprudence and that I had given myself up to a religious life. He came from his home, took me from the society of 'Aly Mahdy and replaced me at the college of Zabīd. I used to visit 'Aly Mahdy once every month, but when his
93 power waxed great throughout the country, I detached myself from him, out of fear of the people of Zabīd. From the year 531 until 536, he continued to preach to the people in the open plains, and on the approach of the pilgrimage season he used to go forth to Mecca, mounted on a dromedary. The Lady, the mother of Fatik son of Maṣṣūr, then relieved him, his brethren, his kindred and those under his protection, from payment of the assessment (kharāj) on their lands. In a brief period of time they became prosperous and rich, they rode horses and wore such as are described by the poet al-Mutanabbī:—

It seemed as though their horses were foaled beneath them—
And as though the riders were born mounted upon their
horses' backs."

Certain persons, inhabitants of the highlands, were brought to 'Aly ibn Mahdy and an alliance sworn between them. He went to these people in the year 538 and assembled an army, which attained the number of forty thousand men, wherewith he marched to attack the city of al-Kadrā. He was met by the Kā'id Ishāk ibn Marzūk as-Sahrati at the head of his people. Ibn Mahdy's army was defeated. Many of his people were killed, but the greater number were spared. He returned to the highlands, where he remained until the year 541. He then wrote to the Queen at Zabīd and asked protection for himself and for his followers, and permission to return to his country. Notwith-

standing the disapproval of the officials of her government and of the Jurists of her time, she granted his request, *that God should (thereby) accomplish the things that were ordained.** 'Aly ibn Mahdy applied himself for several years to the cultivation of his property, which he held free of all assessment, and he thus amassed considerable wealth. When preaching he used to say: "O ye people, the time approacheth. The event draweth nigh! Almost ye may behold with your own eyes the things I have foretold unto you."

The Queen died in the year 545, and hardly had that event occurred, when 'Aly Mahdy appeared in the highlands, at a place named ad-Dāshūr, subject to the Khaulānites [where he remained for a time].³ Thence he ascended to a fortress named ash-Sharaf, which belonged to a tribe of the sept of Khaulān known by the name of Banu Ḥaywan (Ḥaydan?), a word which is pronounced with a quiescent *ḡ*. These people he surnamed (in imitation of the Prophet) *al-Anṣār* (the Auxiliaries), and those who had accompanied him from the low country, he distinguished by the title *al-Muhājirūn*, (the Emigrants). But he then began to mistrust all his companions and to fear for his own safety. He appointed over the Anṣār a Khaulānite of the name of Saba ibn Yūsuf, to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islam, and over the Muhājirūn a man [of the tribe of 'Imrān], named an-Nūby, who received the same title. He appointed them to be chiefs over the two parties, and none but these two persons was allowed to speak to him, or even to approach him. At times he secluded himself even from them, and they would organize military expeditions into the neighbouring country, on their own authority. This they continued to do, and to harass the people of Tihāmah with raids, both

* Qur. viii. v. 43, 46.

in the early mornings and late at eve, until the country bordering upon the highlands was utterly ruined. The Abyssinians at that time sent liberal supplies to their military stations, but their troops were unable to cope with their enemy for several reasons. Among others, because ash-Sharaf, besides being defended by large numbers of Khaulānites, was in itself an exceedingly strong fortress. Also, because a person desiring to reach the stronghold had to perform a day's journey, or part of a day's journey, through a narrow valley enclosed between two mountains. (On reaching the foot of that upon which the fortress stood, the traveller had to ascend a torrent for half a day, ere he could attain the summit. Another reason was, that the torrent which occupied the valley flowed past great gorges, commencing near the low country, in which armies, with large quantities of stores and baggage, might lie hidden for a month before their presence could be suspected. Ibn Mahdy's raiders, when they entered a district in the low country, plundered and burnt, and on daylight appearing, they withdrew to the valley in which were these gorges. There they remained, where none could reach them or venture to attack them.

95 Thus he continued to act with the people of Zabīd, until the country was forsaken by its inhabitants. The land ceased to be ploughed, and the roads were deserted. His orders to his people were, to drive away the cattle and slaves, and to kill the prisoners and animals incapable of marching. They obeyed his commands, which stimulated their own greed, struck terror into their enemies, and accomplished the ruin of the country.

I met 'Aly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 549, at the Court of the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba Prince of Aden, in the city of Dhu Jiblah. He was seeking aid against

the people of Zabīd, which the Dā'y, however, would not consent to give. Ibn Mahdy tendered me his friendship and offered to place me at the head of all his followers.

On his return that same year from Dhu Jiblah to ash-Sharaf, he occupied himself in contriving the death of the Kā'id Surūr al-Fātiki. The Kā'id was slain in Rajab of the year 551. Among the causes that contributed to the success of Ibn Mahdy against the people of Zabīd, was the circumstance that their chiefs were filled with jealousy and envy, at the sight of the eminence attained by the Kā'id Surūr. After his death, the closed gates of evil were thrown open against the Abyssinian dynasty, and the bonds of its stability were unloosed. Ibn Mahdy left the fortress of ash-Sharaf and came down to ad-Dāshir, distant less than half a day's journey from Zabīd. The people and Arabs of the district, subjects of the Abyssinians, strove to conciliate him. And whenever one of Ibn Mahdy's people came in contact with a brother or a kinsman, living among the Abyssinians, a tiller of the soil, or a camel driver or cattle-herd in their service, he perverted him.

Thus matters continued until Ibn Mahdy penetrated, with an innumerable host, to the gates of Zabīd. I have been assured by several natives of Yaman, who witnessed the siege of the town, that no people ever withstood their enemies with so much firmness, or fought so bravely as the citizens of Zabīd. They fought Ibn Mahdy in seventy-two
 96 engagements, heedless of the slaughter by which their numbers were reduced. They suffered from hunger until their misery constrained them to the necessity of eating carrion. They at length implored assistance of the Zaydite and Rassite Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Suleymān, Prince of Sa'dah. He gave them aid, impelled thereto by his eagerness to

acquire sovereign power over the city and people. They pledged themselves to appoint him their King, and the Sharif promised that if they slew their Lord Fātik, he would bind himself unto them by oath. The slaves thereupon rose against their master.

(They were the slaves of Fātik) son of Jayyish son of Najah. This Najah was the freedman of Marjān, who was the freedman of Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn Salāmah, and Husayn ibn Salāmah was the freedman of Ruḥ' the steward, who was the freedman of Ziyād son of Ibrahim son of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak son of Muhammad son of Ibrahim son of 'Abdallah (son of Muhammad) ibn Ziyād.⁶⁴

The slaves above mentioned slew Fātik in the year 553. But the Sharif found himself unable to defend the people of Zabīd against 'Aly ibn Mahdy. The war continued between them and Ibn Mahdy. Several battles were fought and the citizens sheltered themselves behind their walls, but he at length succeeded in capturing the town. The Abyssinian dynasty came to an end and Ibn Mahdy established himself in the Government House, on Friday the 14th of Rajab of the year 554.

'Aly ibn Mahdy survived the event through the remainder of that month and throughout Sha'bān and Ramaḍān. He died in the following month of Shawwāl. He held possession of the city for two months and twenty-one days. He was succeeded by his son al-Mahdy and next by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter was deposed, and was replaced by 'Aly ibn Mahdy's son 'Abd Allah, but he was afterwards re-instated, and at the present day he is ruler of the whole of Yaman, with the exception only of Aden, whose people have entered into a treaty with him, under the conditions of which they pay him an annual tribute.

'Abd an-Naby is sovereign both of the Highlands

and Lowlands, and all the kingdoms and treasures of the Kings of Yaman have passed into his hands. Muḥammad ibn 'Aly, a citizen of Dhu Jīblah, has
 97 informed me that the riches of twenty-five Yamanite dynasties have been absorbed into the treasury of Ibn Mahdy. Therein is included the wealth of the nobles of Zabīd. None of the slaves of Fatik, the Princesses of his family or the nobles of his dynasty died, but left a large amount of wealth including great sums of money. [All was acquired by Ibn Mahdy]; for he became possessed of their children and women, who revealed to him where their masters' treasures were to be found, their gold and silver ware and ornaments, their pearls, jewels, precious stones and splendid apparel of all kinds. These nobles were as they of whom God Most High hath said: *How much they have left! Gardens and springs of water, corn-lands and splendid places of abode and wealth, wherein they spent a life of enjoyment! Thus have we dealt with them, and we have made these things to be an heritage unto another people.**

The dynasty of Ibn Mahdy acquired the kingdom of the Suleymanite Sharīfs, that of the Banu Wa'il Sulṭāns of Wuhāzah, a ruling family of ancient and noble race, likewise the fortresses of the surviving members of the Sulayḥite family, unto each of whose strongholds a wide extent of territory and large revenues were attached. As to the possessions of the King Maṣṣūr son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walīd, the Ḥimyarite, he lost all his strongholds, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, also all his treasures, in which were comprised those of the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayḥite, those of al-Mukarram Aḥmad son of 'Aly, husband of the Honourable Lady the

* Kur. 8. xliv. v. 25-27:

Queen Sayyidah, and those of the Queen herself. The whole of her predecessors' wealth became the property of the Lady Sayyidah. She deposited it in the fortress of Ta'kar, and al-Mufaddal ibn Abi'l-Barakāt gained possession of the castle and of its contents. They were inherited by his son Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaddal. For it is believed that Manṣūr reigned for thirty years and that he died in the decade of his hundredth or of his ninetieth year.⁹⁹

Among other places that passed into the possession of Ibn Mahdy, were the fortresses of al-Majma'ah and of Ta'kar, including, it is said, the wealth they contained; also the city of Dhu Jiblah, the chief centre for the propagation of the Fātinite supremacy and capital of the Sulayhites, likewise the city of al-Janaḍ and its dependencies, and in
98 like manner Thālithah and Sharyāk, and Dhakhir together with its dependencies. And the possessions of that chieftain, 'Aly ibn Muḥammad Prince of Dhakhir, were not inferior to those of Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaddal. Ibn Mahdy next acquired the kingdom of the Banu 'z-Zarr and the cities of Dhu Jiblah, of Dhu Ashrak and of Ibb, the fortresses and country of the Banu Khaulān, the fortresses of the Banu Rabī'ah, namely 'Azzan, Ḥabb and ash-Shamakhi. He captured Sulṭān Abū 'n-Nurayn Abū 'l Fāṭh, and the fortress of as-Sawā remained in the possession of Ibn as-Sabū'i (the Khaulānite). Ibn Mahdy next conquered the strongholds of the Dā'y 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, that is to say, the fortresses of Sām' and Maṭrān [and Numayr] situated in the district of al-Ma'āfir. He became possessed also of the chief stronghold of Yaman, that which has no equals other than Ta'kar and Ḥabb, that is to say, the fortress of Samadān, the strength of which has become proverbial. No created being can prevail against that stronghold, unless aided by the executors of the Creator's decrees. This enumeration is that

which I have styled a *drop from the ocean of Ibn Mahdy's conquests*. And in the foregoing I have not mentioned the country of the Banu Muẓaffar, Saba son of Aḥmad the Sulayḥite, nor the districts of Ḥarān (Ḥaraz r), nor Bura', nor the country of Bakīl, nor that of Ḥāshid, nor Jublah (Jublān Raymah ?) with its fortresses and provinces, nor Wādi 'Unnah nor Wadi Zabud, nor other places, such as the valleys of Rim'a and of Raymat al-Ash'ir, their castles and their villages, Mudhaykhirah and its dependencies, which are several days' journey in extent, Damt and Wādi Taḥlah (Nakhlah r).¹⁰⁰

Now, as to the sect to which Ibn Mahdy belonged and the doctrines he held; he followed the rules of the Ḥanafite school in the interpretation of religious law, but he added to its fundamental articles of faith, the doctrine that regards sin as infidelity and punishable with death. He held in like manner that the penalty of death was to be inflicted upon all professing Muslims who opposed his teaching, that it was lawful to reduce their captured women to the condition of concubines, their children to slavery, and to treat their country as a land of infidels (Dār al-Ḥarb). I have been told, but the responsibility for truth rests upon the original narrator, that Ibn Mahdy did not implicitly trust the faith of a Muhājir, excepting he proved his sincerity by slaying his own son or his father or his brother. He used to recite the following passage:—*Thou shalt not find people who believe in God and in the Day of Judgment, bearing love unto them that oppose God and His apostle, even though such be their fathers, their sons, their brethren or their kinsfolk. He hath inscribed faith in the hearts (of the true believers), and He aideth them with a Spirit proceeding from Himself.** I knew (added the narrator ?) a youth among them, who was my neighbour and a student of Juris-

* Qur'ān, s. lviii. v. 22.

prudence. His mother went on a visit to him and he slew her.

As to the faith which his followers placed in him, it was beyond what is commonly held in respect of the Prophets, the blessings of God and His peace be upon them. One of the family of Ibn Mahdy might think fit to kill several of his soldiers, and even though (the latter's comrades were ?) able to prevail against the slayer, they abstained, through submission and religious conviction, from killing him. If Ibn Mahdy were moved to anger against one of their greatest chiefs or leaders, the person who had incurred his displeasure would confine himself to a spot exposed to the rays of the sun. He would neither be fed nor given to drink, neither his son nor his wife could approach him, nor durst any person intercede for him, until Ibn Mahdy pardoned him of his own free will. Their perfect submission was such that every man carried to the public Treasury the woollen yarn which his wife or daughters had spun. Ibn Mahdy supplied him and his family with clothing. Not one of the soldiers possessed a horse his own property, or could keep one in a stable attached to his dwelling, neither did he possess accoutrements, or weapons, or aught else. Horses were kept in Ibn Mahdy's stables, and arms were stored in his arsenals. If necessity arose, he distributed among his men the horses and weapons they required. A soldier who fled from the enemy was beheaded. By no means could his life be spared. Whoso drank intoxicating liquors suffered death, and death was the penalty for listening to songs, for adultery, and for absence from the Fridays' prayers or from the two assemblies at which he preached to the people, on Thursdays and Mondays. Anyone who neglected to visit his
100 father's grave on these two days suffered death. To these laws the soldiery alone were subject.

Those applicable to the people were of a more lenient character, and I am informed at the present time, that is to say, in the year 553 (road 563 or 564), that the severity with which these laws were carried into effect has been relaxed.¹⁰¹

CHAPTER IN WHICH ARE ENUMERATED THE PERSONS WHO
HAVE HELD IN YAMAN THE OFFICE OF DĀ'Y FOR
THE FĀTIMIDES.

Of their number was the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Ṣulayhite, who combined the office of Dā'y with supreme power as temporal sovereign. Next was his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad the Ṣulayhite, who likewise combined both offices. After him Sultān Suleymān az-Zawāḥi exercised the functions of Dā'y, but did not hold sovereign rule. Then the Kāḍī^{*} ibn Mālik the Ṣulayhite combined the office of Dā'y with that of Judge, but did not exercise sovereign rule. Next 'Aly son of Ibrāhīm al-Muwaffaq fi 'd-dīn, son of Najib ad-Daulah, held the office of Dā'y and exercised sovereign rule, under the authority of the Honourable Lady Queen Sayyidah, over part of her dominions.¹⁰²

Then, when the official notification was received from our Lord the Imām al-Āmir bi-Aḥkam Illah, Prince of the faithful—upon whom be peace—bringing to the Queen, his accepted Representative in the country of Yaman, the glad tidings of the birth of his son, our Lord the Imām at-Ṭayyib Abu 'l-Kāsim, and of the new-born Prince's designation

* Lacuna in the MS.

as successor to the Imāmato, (it was) conceived in the following terms :—

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious.

• From the servant of God and His beloved, al-Manṣūr Abu 'Aly al-Āmir bi-Aḥkam Illah, Prince of the Faithful,

Unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen, the highly esteemed, the pure, the stainless, the unparagoned of her age, Sovereign Lady of the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islām, the Special friend of the Imām, Treasure of the Faith, Support of the true believers, Refuge unto them that seek aid, Protectress of the truly directed, Favourite of the Prince of the Faithful, Guardian of his favoured servants. May God perpetuate her power and prosperity, and grant her increasing support and assistance. Peace be with thee!

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God, than whom there is none other God but He, and prayeth Him to bless his
101 ancestor Muḥammad, the seal of the Prophets and Lord of the Apostles. May God bless him and his pure family the truly directed Imāms, and hail them with salutations of peace.

And after. Verily the favours of God unto the Prince of the Faithful cannot be reckoned. Their magnitude is beyond all power of measurement and their limit cannot be defined. The mind of man cannot encompass them. For they are even as the clouds in the heavens, of which one departeth and another ever cometh, as the flashing rays of the sun that perpetually issue forth and envelop the earth, and as the lion whose visits are unceasing, who cometh in the morning and returneth in the shadows of evening.

But God's noblest gift to the Prince of the Faithful, the greatest and the most widely renowned, the most brilliant in honour and distinction, is that recently conferred upon him by the birth of a child, pure and highly prized, virtuous and pious, on the night that ushered in the dawn of Sunday the fourth of the month of Rabī'u 'l-Ākhir of the year 524. The pulpits of the world have exhaled fragrance on the proclamation (therefrom) of his name, and the hopes of all men, of the people of the plains and of the dwellers in cities, are directed to the wealth-imparting clouds of his beneficence. The darkness of night hath been illumined by the light of his noble presence and by the shining beauty of his countenance, and through him the necklace of disjointed precious jewels are strung, to add increased lustre to the brilliant

dynasty of the Fātimites. God hath brought him forth from the lineage of the Prophet, like as light is brought forth from light, and the Prince of the Faithful hath obtained, through his birth, showers of brilliant sparks proceeding from the flint and steel of felicity. He hath named him at-Tayyib, for the sweetness of his nature, and he hath surnamed him Abu 'l-Kāsim, the surname of his ancestor the Prophet of true guidance, from whose substance his substance hath sprung.

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God Most High for the grace he hath bestowed upon him by raising a shining star in the firmament of the Imperial dynasty and a light-giving orb in the empyrean of its glory, and for filling him with the thankfulness that tendeth to the continuance of God's mercies, and to an abundant downflow from the beneficent clouds of His indulgence and goodness.

102 He prayeth that God may grant unto him, through the birth of this child, the accomplishment of his furthest hopes, that he may through him be linked with the Imāmate as long as day continues to be joined unto night; that God may make this child a refuge for the truly directed, a living proof against them that deny, a help unto them that are under constraint, a succourer unto them that seek assistance, an asylum to them that are in fear, and a source of happiness to the patient; that the world through him may attain its most abundant happiness and prosperity, and that each day, as it ariseth, may disclose its pearly orth in smiles.

By reason of the lofty rank bestowed upon thee by the Prince of the Faithful and of thy position unequalled and unmatched, I make known unto thee these auspicious tidings, glorious and important and widely celebrated, that thou mayest abundantly rejoice thereat, and that thou mayest spread them among thy servants and divinely favoured people, that they may be equally known to them that are distant and to them that are near, that by knowledge of these tidings the necklace of happiness be strung, and that their sweet fragrance be exhaled as that of fresh aloes-wood from Mandal and of camphor.* Be this known unto thee and make it known, with the permission of God Most High.

Written on the day above mentioned. May God bless his Apostle our Lord Muḥammad and his family the pure Imāms, hail them with salutations of peace, exalt them and honour them unto the last day !¹⁰¹

* Mandal is said to be the name of a place in India (the Indian Archipelago ?), celebrated for its aloes-wood.

Soon after the sceptre departed from the hands of our Lord al-Āmir, and al-Hafiz succeeded. The first edict that reached the Queen from him purported to proceed from the appointed heir to the Empire of the Muslims.

In the second year of the Prince of the Faithful, the Queen appointed the noble Dā'y Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamūdī.

She next transferred the office of Dā'y on behalf of the Khalīlah al-Hāfiz to the family of Zuray'. "Sufficient," said the Queen, "for the Banu aṣ-Ṣulayhi, is that which they know respecting (the fate of?) our Lord al-Tayyib."

Then the office was held by his son Ḥātim ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamūdī, until that time.

It was transferred under the reign of al-Hafiz to the family of Zuray'. One of them (or, the first) was the unparagoned Amīr Saba son of Abū Su'ūd, son of Zuray' son of al-Ābbas the Yamite, who combined the office of Dā'y with sovereign rule. He was succeeded by his son, the great, the crowned, the powerful Dā'y, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful, Muḥammad son of Saba, in whose hands likewise the functions of Dā'y and the royal office were combined.

We have now, in this abridgment, supplied an abstract of the history of the kings of the country of Yaman and of the Dā'ys.

End of the auspicious history. Praise be to God, by whose grace all good works are brought to completion.

* See Note 102. It will be noticed that in Janāh we find the verb *عمل* *to do* instead of *علم* *to know*.

103 THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

EXTRACTED FROM THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

‘ABD AR-RAḤMAN IBN KHALDŪN.

THE HISTORY OF YAMAN AND OF THE ISLAMITIC STATES THAT HAVE EXISTED THEREIN SUBJECT TO THE ‘ABBĀSIDES AND ‘OBAIDITES, AND OF ALL ITS ARAB KINGS, A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THEIR RISE AND VICISSITUDES, FOLLOWED BY SEPARATE HISTORICAL NOTICES, UNDER THE HEADING OF EACH CITY AND KINGDOM OF THE COUNTRY, ONE BY ONE.

WE have related, in the latter part of the Prophetical History, how Yaman became part of the Islamitic Empire, through the submission of Badhān, its governor under Kisra (Chosroes), to Islām. The people were converted along with him, and the Prophet appointed him Amīr over all its provinces. His residence was at Ṣan‘ā, the seat of government of the ancient kings, the Tubbas. When the Prince died, after the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet (may God bless him and hail him with salutations of peace) divided Yaman among provincial governors, subject to himself, and appointed Shahr son of Badhān over Ṣan‘ā.

We have likewise related the story of al-Aswad

al-'Ansi (the 'Ansī), how he drove the governors of the Prophet out of Yaman, how he marched upon San'ā, possessed himself of the city, how he slew Shahr son of Badhān, took his wife in marriage, made himself master of the greater part of Yaman, and how most of its people apostatized. The Prophet wrote to his followers and deputies, as also to all who had steadfastly adhered to the faith. Through the medium of Fayrūz son of her uncle, they entered into communication with the wife of Shahr, whom al-Aswad had married. The leading part, in these occurrences, was taken by Kays ibn 'Abd Yaghūth,* the Murādite. He, Fayruz and Dādhwayh came to al-Aswad by night, with the concurrence of his wife, and slew him. The governors of the Prophet returned to their provinces, and this occurred shortly before the Prophet's death.

Kays became sole ruler at San'ā and he collected together the scattered soldiery of al-Aswad. Abu Bakr appointed Fayrūz and the Abuas who owned his authority, over Yaman, and commanded the 104 people to obey him. Fayrūz attacked Kays ibn Makshūh and put him to flight.¹⁰⁴

Abu Bakr then appointed al-Muhājir ibn Abi Umayyah to be commander in the war against the apostates of Yaman, and likewise 'Ukrimah ibn Abi Jahl, who was ordered to commence by operating against the apostates of 'Omān, and then to join al-Muhājir. At a later date, Yaman was placed under the government of Ya'la ibn Munyah. He afterwards joined 'A'ishah at Mecca, whence he accompanied her and took part in the battle of the Camel.¹⁰⁵

'Aly appointed over Yaman 'Obayd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, and then 'Obayd Allāh's brother 'Abd Allāh. Afterwards Mu'awiyah appointed over

* Also known as Ibn Makshūh.

Ṣan'ā Fayrūz the Daylamito, who died A.H. 53. In A.H. 72, when 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Ḥajjāj against Ibn Zubayr, he named him governor of Yaman. When the dynasty of the 'Abbasides was established (the Khalifah Abu 'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allah) as-Saffāḥ appointed over the province his uncle Dā-ūd ibn 'Aly, and upon Dā-ūd's death, in A.H. 133, he replaced him by Muhammad, son of his maternal uncle Yazid (read Ziyad), son of 'Obayd Allah son (descendant) of 'Abd al-Mudan.

Thenceforward the governorship passed successively from one ruler to another, all of whom established their residence at Ṣan'ā, until the accession of al-Ma'mūn to the Khalīfate. The missionaries of the 'Ālibites appeared in the provinces, and Abu 's-Saraya, of the Banu Shayban, proclaimed in 'Irāk the supremacy of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭaba, son of Isma'īl, son of Ibrāhīm, the latter, brother (read uncle) of the Mahdī, *an-Najī as-Zakīyah* (the pure in spirit), Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allah son of Ḥasan (son of Ḥasan son of 'Aly son of Abu Ṭālib). Disturbances increased in violence and Muḥammad ibn Ṭabāṭabā appointed rulers over the various provinces. He was eventually killed, and Muḥammad son of Ja'far as-Sādiq was proclaimed in the Hijāz, whilst in Yaman, Ibrāhīm son of Mūsa al-Kāẓim rebelled in A.H. 200.* He did not succeed in his designs, and he was surnamed *al-Jazzār* (the Butcher), by reason of his blood-shedding disposition. Al-Ma'mūn sent troops to Yaman, who subdued the country. They removed large numbers of the leading men, and Yaman acquired a settled condition, in the manner we will proceed to relate.

* See Genealogical Table of Imāms, Note 107.

THE DYNASTY OF ZIYĀD UNDER THE SUPREMACY OF
THE ABBASIDES.

Among the leading men of Yaman sent up to al-Ma'mūn there was one, Muhammad son of Ziyād, a descendant of 'Obayd Allah son of Ziyād son of Abu Sufyān. He propitiated the Khalīfah, and
105 having engaged to protect Yaman against the Alides, he won his favour and was appointed to the government of the province, where he arrived in A.H. 203. He conquered the Tihāmah of Yaman, that is to say, the western country adjoining the sea-coast, and founded there the city of Zabīd, which became his place of residence and the capital of his kingdom. He appointed over the highlands his freedman Ja'fār. Tihāmah was conquered after a struggle with the Arab tribes, and they were subjected to a stipulation that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyād became sovereign of the whole of Yaman. His authority was recognized in the provinces of Uadramaut, ash-Shihr and Diyar (the country of the) Banu Kindah, and he acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas (the ancient Kings of Yaman).

There existed at Ṣan'ā, the chief city of Yaman, the Banu Ya'fur, descendants of Hinyar, one of the noblest families that had survived the rule of the Tubbas. They exercised supreme authority over the city and owned allegiance to the Abbasides. Besides Ṣan'ā they possessed Bayhān, Naprān,* and Jurash. The last of the family were As'ad ibn Ya'fur and, next after him, his brother Muḥammad. The Banu Ya'fur recognized the supremacy of Ibn Ziyād.

'Aththar, likewise one of the kingdoms of Yaman,

* See *infra*, p. 172, and 'Omarah, *supra*, p. 6. The Paris MS. writes *Tajrūt*.

was under the rule of Sulaymān ibn Ṭarf, who also submitted.

Muḥammad ibn Ziyād perished, and he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm. Then followed Ziyād son of Ibrāhīm, then the brother of Ziyād, Abu 'l-Jaysh Iṣḥāk son of Ibrāhīm. His reign endured for a long period, until he attained the age of eighty years. 'Omārah says that he reigned eighty years over Yaman, Ḥaḍramaut and the maritime islands. When Abu 'l-Jaysh heard of the assassination of the Khalīfah al-Mutawakkil and afterwards of the abdication of al-Musta'in (A.H. 252) and of the subjection of the Khalifate to the Turkish freedmen, he discontinued the payment of tribute, and when riding forth, he caused a canopy to be borne over his head, according to the usage of the independent Persian kings.¹⁰⁶

Under his reign Yahya son of al-Ḥusayn son of al-Kāsim ar-Rassy son of Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā arose in Yaman proclaiming the supremacy of the Zaydites.¹⁰⁷ He came from Sind, whither his grandfather al-Kāsim had fled, upon the suppression of the insurrection led by his brother Muḥammad and by Abu 's-Sarāya, of which we have related the history.

Al-Kāsim sought refuge in Sind and there his son Ḥusayn and his grandson Yahya were born. Yahya appeared in Yaman in A.H. 288 and proceeded to 106 Ṣa'dah, where he made open profession of the doctrines of the Zaydites. He then marched upon Ṣan'ā and wrested it from the hands of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, but the Banu Ya'fur recaptured the city and Yahya returned to Ṣa'dah. His followers gave him the title of Imām and his descendants occupy the country at the present day. We have herein before related their history.*

It was likewise in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh, that the claims of the 'Obaydites were proclaimed in

* *Infra*, p. 184.

Yaman. Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl established his authority in their name, in A.H. 340, over Aden Lā'ih and over the highlands of Yaman, as far as Mount Mudhaykhirah.

The country that remained subject to Abu 'l-Jaysh extended from ash-Sharjah to Aden, twenty days' journey, and from his own province to San'ā, five days' journey. When Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl overcame him by spreading recognition of the 'Obaydite supremacy in Yaman, the rulers of the outlying provinces cast off their allegiance to Abu 'l-Jaysh. Among them were the Banu As'ad ibn Ya'fur at San'ā, Sulayman ibn 'Tarf at 'Aththar and the Imām ar-Rassy at Sa'dah. Abu 'l-Jaysh adopted a conciliatory policy with them.

He perished in A.H. 371. He had extended his kingdom and had increased its revenues. Ibn Sa'id says that he had examined a statement according to which the revenues of Abu 'l-Jaysh amounted to 1,366,000 'Asbāriyah dinārs,* besides duties levied upon the shipping from Sind, upon amborgris arriving at Bab al-Mandeb and at Aden-Abyan, on the pearl fisheries, and besides the taxes collected in the Island of Dahlak, which included one thousand slaves. The Kings of Abyssinia, on the opposite shores, were in the habit of offering him presents, and sought his friendship.

At his death he left a young child of the name of 'Abd Allah or Ibrahim or, as is also said, of the name of Ziyād. His sister and his freedman Rashid the Abyssinian became the guardians of the child. Rashid appointed over the highlands his mamluk Hasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah the Nubian. Thenceforth the office of wazīr passed from one Abyssinian

* Read: Amounted in A.H. 366 to one million 'Aththariyah dinārs. It will be observed that Ibn Sa'id's statement is simply appropriated from 'Omārah, who, as we have seen, borrowed his information from Ibn Ḥaukal. (Note 12.)

or Nubian freedman to another. They acquired absolute control over the state, and the Ziyādid dynasty at length came to an end in A.H. 407 (read 409).

The child died and was succeeded by another, also of the family of the Banu Ziyād, younger than his predecessor. Ibn Saʿīd remarks that 107 'Omārah knew not his name, in consequence of the absolute control exercised over the Prince by the chamberlains. He means 'Omārah, the historian of Yaman. It is, however, said that this second child bore the name of Ibrahim. He was placed under the guardianship of his aunt and of Marjān one of the freedmen of Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salamah. Marjān became possessed of supreme power. He had two freedmen, Ḳays * and Najah. He placed the infant Prince, the nominal King, under the care of Ḳays (Nafis), who was appointed to reside at Zabīd along with the child. Najah he appointed over all the provinces other than Zabīd, including the cities of al-Kadrā and al-Mahjam. Marjān preferred Ḳays (Nafis) to Najah, between whom jealousy consequently arose. It was stated to Ḳays (Nafis) that the child's aunt favoured Najah, and was in secret correspondence with him. He seized her (and the child), with the concurrence of his master Marjān, and buried them alive. He assumed exclusive and supreme power, adopted the use of the royal umbrella, and put his own name on the coinage.

In extreme anger at what had occurred, Najah placed himself at the head of an army, and marched against Ḳays (Nafis), who came forth to meet him. Several engagements and battles took place and Ḳays (Nafis) was eventually defeated and killed, along with five thousand men of his army. Najah gained possession of Zabīd in A.H. 412, and buried

* See Note 13, last par.

Kays (Nafis) and his master Marjān in the place of the child and its aunt. He assumed paramount authority and the coinage was struck in his name. He wrote to the supreme council of the Khalifah at Baghdad, and was formally appointed to rule over Yaman. He continued to exercise absolute sway over Tilāmah and the highlands, and he abolished in the mountain districts, the authority of the rulers appointed by Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salāmah. The neighbouring kings dreaded his power, and he continued in the enjoyment of that high estate until his assassination by ‘Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, the representative of the ‘Obaydites, who encompassed his death, in A.H. 452, by means of poison administered by a female slave he sent to the King.

Najāh was succeeded at Zabīd by his freedman Kahlān. Afterwards aṣ-Ṣulayḥi possessed himself of the city and ruled over it, as will be related.

THE HISTORY OF THE BANU ‘S-SULAYḤI, WHO RULED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE ‘OBAYDITES, AND PROPAGATED THEIR SUPREMACY IN YAMAN.

THE Kādi Muḥammad ibn ‘Aly the Hamdānite, surnamed aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, was the chief of Ḥarāz in the country of the Hamdānites. He was descended from the tribe of the Banu Yām, and there grew up unto him, a son named ‘Aly. The office of Dā‘y for the ‘Obaydites was at that time held by ‘Amir son of ‘Abd Allah az-Zawāḥi (the Zawāḥite), so
108 named after a village in Ḥarāz. It was said that he possessed the book *al-Jufr*, one of the treasures, it was represented, of the ‘Obaydite Imāms, and it was pretended that the name of ‘Aly, son of the Kādi Muḥammad, was mentioned in the book.

‘Aly studied under the directions of the Dā’y and received his teaching. When the youth’s merits and talent became manifest, the Dā’y showed him his name and particulars describing him, set forth in the book. “Take care of your son,” he said to the Kādi, “for he will be ruler over the whole of Yaman.”

‘Aly grew up a Jurist noted for piety. For fifteen years he was leader of the pilgrimage by way of Ṭā’if and the Sarawāt. He attained a great reputation, his name became widely known, and people commonly spoke of him as Sulṭān of Yaman. The Dā’y ‘Āmir az-Zawāhi died bequeathing to him his writings and appointing him his successor. ‘Aly led the caravan of pilgrims in A.H. 428, according to his previous custom, and during the celebration of the ceremonies of the *Mawsim*,^{*} he assembled certain men belonging to his tribe, that of Hamdān, who had accompanied him, and called upon them for their assistance and support. They consented and swore allegiance to him. They were sixty in number, ranking among the most manly members of the tribe.

On his return, he established himself at Masār, a fortress on the summit of one of the mountains of Ḥarāz, which he strengthened. His power waxed great, and he wrote to al-Mustansir, then ruling in Egypt, requesting to be allowed to make open proclamation of the ‘Obaydite doctrines. He received the desired permission and carried his design into effect. He made himself master of the whole of Yaman, and took up his residence at Ṣan‘ā, where he built palaces and made the Yamanite Kings, whom he had conquered, take up their abode beside him. He drove forth the Banu Ṭarf, Kings of ‘Aththar and Tihāmah, and in A.H. 452, as we

* Between the 8th and 13th of the month of Dhū ‘l-Ḥijjah.

have mentioned, he brought about the death of Najāh, freedman of the Ziyādites and King of Zabīd, by means of a slave girl, he sent as a present to the Prince.

He then proceeded to Mecca by command of al-Mustansir the ruler of Egypt, for the purpose of putting an end to the 'Abbaside supremacy and to the rulership of the Hasanites. He appointed his son, al-Mukarram Ahmad, his deputy at San'a, and he took with him his wife Asma daughter of Shihāb, as also the kings who had their abode with him, such as Ibn al-Kurandi, Ibn Yāfur at-Tubba'y, Wa'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuhazy, and others. Sa'id ibn Najāh made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjam and killed him. This happened in A. H. 463 (read 473).

He was succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Ahmad, who possessed himself of supreme power and established himself at San'a. His mother, 109 Asma daughter of Shihab, had been captured by Sa'id ibn Najāh, on the night of the attack. She sent a letter to her son al-Mukarram. "I am with child," she wrote, "by the squint-eyed slave Sa'id, *al-Ahwal*. Come to me before my delivery, or disgrace will ensue, such as time will never efface." Al-Mukarram started from San'a in the year 475, at the head of three thousand men. The Abyssinians numbered twenty thousand, but he routed them. Sa'id ibn Najāh fled to the Island of Dahlak. Al-Mukarram presented himself to his mother, who was seated in the archway (or casement) near which the heads of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and of his brother were displayed. He took them down and buried them, and unsheathed the sword in vengeance against the city. He re-instated his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb over Tihāmah as before, giving him Zabīd for his place of residence, and he then departed with his mother for San'a.

She conducted the affairs of his kingdom. After a time, As'ad ibn Shihūb having collected the tribute of Tihānah, transmitted it under the charge of his wazīr Aḥmad ibn Sālim, and Asmā distributed the money among the envoys from the Arab tribes. She died in A.H. 477,* and in 479, al-Mukarram lost possession of Zabīd, which was recovered by Sa'īd ibn Najāh. Al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah in 480 and appointed over Ṣan'ā 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl the Ḥamdānite.

'Imrān became independent and transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. His son Aḥmad assumed the title of Sulṭān, under which he acquired great celebrity. He was succeeded by his son Ḥātim son of Aḥmad, but after him there was at Ṣan'ā no Prince of any renown, until the city was conquered by the Suleymānites, upon that family being overcome at Mecca by the Ḥāshimītes, as is mentioned in their history.† Dhu Jiblah is a city founded by 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī in the year 458. Al-Mukarram removed thither by the advice of his wife Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, who acquired the direction of the affairs of his kingdom, after the death of his mother Asmā. He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and built in that city the *Dār al-'Izz* (the abode of Majesty). He applied himself to contrive the death of Sa'īd ibn Najāh and succeeded in his design, as we will relate in the history of Ibn Najāh.

Al-Mukarram became absorbed in the pursuit of

* Read 479. See *supra*, p. 37.

† See *infra*, p. 187 and Note 130. It is hardly necessary to add that the Suleymānites never conquered Ṣan'ā. Ibn Khaldūn, misled, it would appear by Ibn Sa'īd, has hopelessly confused the Suleymānites and Rassites. But it will indeed be seen that the Rassite Imāms themselves did not at the period referred to, nor for long after it, become permanently possessed of Ṣan'ā. And Ibn Khaldūn's statement touching 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl and his descendants, is likewise incorrect. See Note 8, the latter part.

pleasure, living in a state of seclusion with his wife. When on the point of death in 484, he bequeathed his dignities to the son of his paternal uncle, al-Manṣūr Saba son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar son of 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, Lord of the fortress of Ashyah.¹⁰⁸ He was invested by al-Mustanṣir the 'Obaydite and made that fortress his place of
 110 residence, whilst Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad remained at Dhu Jiblah. He sought her in marriage, but she refused, whereupon he laid siege to the castle she inhabited. Her uterine brother Suleymān ibn 'Āmir az-Zawāḥi assured him that she would not consent, unless commanded by al-Mustanṣir the Egyptian Khalifah. Al-Manṣūr accordingly made application to al-Mustanṣir, who complied with his request. A eunuch arrived from the Court of the Khalifah, and acquainted the Princess with the purpose of his mission. He recited to her the verse: *Unto no believer, male nor female, belongeth liberty of choice when the decree of God and of His Apostle hath gone forth.** "The Prince of the Faithful," he continued, "marries thee to the Dā'y Manṣūr Abu Ḥimyar Saba son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar, and appoints unto thee a dowry of one hundred thousand dinars in money and fifty thousand dinārs in articles of rarity and value." The contract of marriage was entered into and Saba proceeded from the fortress of Ashyah to Dhu Jiblah, and joined his wife in the Dār al-'Izz. It is said that she sent him a slave girl who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that the girl stood at the head of his couch, and that he never raised his eyes unto her until morning, when he returned to Ashyah, whilst the Princess remained at Dhu Jiblah.

The person possessed of paramount influence over the Queen was al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt

* Kuz'an, §. xxxiii. v. 36

of the Banu Yām, the tribe to which the Sulayhites belonged.* He invited his allies of the tribe of Janb to join him. He appointed an abode for them at Dhu Jiblah, close to his own place of residence, and they supported him in warlike enterprises.

Sayyidah was in the habit of spending the summer at Ta'kar, where she kept her treasury and valuables. On the approach of winter she returned to Dhu Jiblah. After a time al-Mufaddal remained alone in possession at Ta'kar, without interruption to their friendly intercourse. He departed to make war upon the family of Najah. A Jurist, who bore the surname of al-Jamal, seized the opportunity to raise an insurrection in the castle of Ta'kar, assisted by several (or seven) other men of his profession, one of whom was Ibrahim ibn Zaydān, paternal uncle of 'Omārah the poet. They swore allegiance to al-Jamal, on the condition that he should put an end to the supremacy of the Imamites. Al-Mufaddal hastening back besieged them, and the Banu Khawlan came to the assistance of the rebels. Al-Mufaddal adopted a conciliatory and temporizing policy towards the Khawlanites, but perished in the course of the siege, in A.H. 504.

The Lady Sayyidah thereupon came to the spot and prevailed upon the Khawlanites to enter into an alliance, the terms of which she faithfully
 111 observed. She constituted herself guardian of the family and son of al-Mufaddal. The castle of Ta'kar passed into the hands of 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr the Khawlanite and of his brother Suleymān, and 'Imrān acquired the influence formerly exercised by al-Mufaddal over the Lady Sayyidah. At her death, he and his brother remained sole masters of the castle of Ta'kar.

* 'Omārah speaks of Abu 'l-Barakat as a Himsyante.

Manṣūr, the son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu'l-Barakāt, became possessed of Dhu Jiblah, and held the fortress until he sold it to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, the ruler of Aden, as will hereafter be related. He established his residence in the stronghold of Ashyah, which had formerly belonged to the Dā'y al-Manṣūr Sabā son of Ahmad.

Al-Manṣūr Saba had died in A.H. 486 (read 492), after which discord arose among his children. His son 'Aly succeeded in gaining possession of the castle of Ashyah. He gave annoyance to al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi'l-Barakat and to the Lady Sayyidah, and they felt themselves helpless against him, until al-Mufaḍḍal at length contrived, by means of poison concealed in a quince, to bring about the death of his enemy.

The family of Abu'l-Barakat possessed itself of the fortresses of the Banu Muzaḥfar, and al-Mufaḍḍal died soon afterwards, as has been related. Sayyidah undertook the guardianship of his son Manṣūr, who did not hold independent authority. But upon his advancing in years, he became possessed of the dominion held by his father over the fortress of Ta'kar and its castles, over Dhu Jiblah and its fortresses, and of that formerly exercised by the Banu Muzaḥfar over Ashyah and its fortresses. After a time he sold the castle of Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, the Prince of Aden, for 100,000 dinars, and he continued to sell his fortresses, one after the other, until none remained unto him but that of Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by 'Aly son of Mahdy, after he had reigned for eighty years and had attained the age of one hundred.* And God, be He magnified and exalted, possesseth supreme knowledge of the truth.

* See Note 56, the latter part, and Note 99.

THE HISTORY OF THE DOMINION, 'AT ZABĪD, OF THE
BANU NAJĀH, FREEDMEN OF THE BANU ZIYĀD,
THEIR EARLY CAREER AND THE VICISSITUDES THEY
UNDERWENT.

'ALY AŞ-ŞULAYHĪ, as has been related, gained possession of Zabīd from the hands of Kahlan, after having destroyed him (read Najāh) by poison in A.H. 452 with the assistance of the slave girl he had sent him.

- 112 Najāh had three sons, Mu'ārik, Sa'id and Jayyāsh. Mu'ārik committed suicide, and the two remaining brother stook refuge in the Island of Dahlak, where they abode, occupying themselves in the study of the Qur'an and of literature. After a time Sa'id departed, in anger with his brother Jayyāsh, and returned to Zabīd, where he concealed himself in a cave, which he dug for himself in the ground. He then sent for his brother Jayyāsh, who joined him and they remained together in concealment.

It next happened that the Hāshimite Amīr of Mecca, Muḥammad ibn Ja'far having renounced the supremacy of the 'Obaydite Khalifah of Egypt al-Mustansir, the latter wrote to aş-Şulayhī, commanding him to make war upon the Amīr and to compel him to maintain the Alide supremacy at Mecca. 'Aly aş-Şulayhī accordingly marched from Şau'ā, and thereupon Sa'id and his brother issued forth from their hiding-place. Aş-Şulayhī obtaining intelligence thereof, despatched against them a force of about five thousand horsemen,* with orders to put the two brothers to death. But Sa'id and Jayyāsh avoided the troops and went in pursuit of aş-Şulayhī and his army. They made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjan, which he had reached on his way to Mecca. He had with him five thousand Abyssinians†

* Read Abyssinians. See *supra*, p. 83.

† See *supra*, p. 30.

who, however, made no attempt to defend him. His troops were scattered and as-Ṣulayḥi was killed, falling, it is said, at the hands of Jayyāsh. This occurred in the year 473. 'Abd Allah as-Ṣulayḥi brother of 'Aly, was likewise killed, as well as one hundred and seventy men of the family of Ṣulayḥi, and 'Aly's wife Asmā, daughter of his uncle Shihāb, was captured together with thirty-five Kaḥṭānito kings, who had been deprived of their dominion in Yaman. Sa'īd sent to the troops that had been despatched against himself and against his brother, granted them an amnesty and took them into his own service. He then marched upon Zabīd, which was ruled by As'ad ibn Shihāb the brother of Asmā, wife of as-Ṣulayḥi. As'ad fled to Ṣan'ā, and Sa'īd made his entrance into Zabīd with Asmā, the wife of as-Ṣulayḥi, borne in front of him in a litter, close to which were carried the heads of 'Aly and of his brother. He placed Asma in the palace of Zabīd, and set up the two heads opposite the casement of her apartment. The hearts of the people were filled with dread, and Sa'īd assumed the title of *Naṣīr ad-*
113 *Daulah* (Defender of the State).

The commanders of the fortresses made themselves masters of the places that had been entrusted to them. At Ṣan'ā, al-Mukarram son of as-Ṣulayḥi, was thrown into a state of stupor and all but utter helplessness.

His mother Asma wrote to him from Zabīd, stimulating and inciting him: "I am great with child," she wrote, "by Sa'īd. Come therefore unto me, before disgrace light upon thee and upon the whole Arab nation." Al-Mukarram thereupon contrived to instigate Sa'īd son of Najāḥ into an attack upon Ṣan'ā, employing as his medium one of the commanders on the frontier, and flattering Sa'īd with promises of victory.¹⁰⁹

Sa'īd consequently advanced at the head of

twenty thousand Abyssinians. Al-Mukarram issued forth from Ṣan'ā, and put the enemy to flight. He turned their position so as to intercept the road to Zabīd, and Sa'īd fled to the Island of Dahlak.

Al-Mukarram entered Zabīd and proceeded to his mother, whom he found seated at the casement near which were exposed the heads of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and of his brother. He took them down and buried them. And he appointed over Zabīd his maternal uncle As'ad in the year 497 (read 475). He then departed for Ṣan'a, but Sa'īd subsequently returned to Zabīd in A.H. 479.

Al-Mukarram wrote to Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'fur (read Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn), Lord of the fortress of Sha'ir, desiring him to incite Sa'īd against himself, to urge upon him the capture of Dhu Jiblah and to represent, as the motive of his action, that al-Mukarram was absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure, that he lived in a state of subjection to his wife Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, and that he was afflicted with paralysis. The artifice was crowned with success. Sa'īd came forth at the head of thirty thousand Abyssinians, and al-Mukarram prepared an ambush for him below the castle of Sha'ir. Sa'īd fell a victim to treachery. His troops were routed and he himself killed. His head was put up at Zabīd on the spot, close to the casement, where the head of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi was formerly exposed. Al-Mukarram became master of the city of Zabīd, and its subjection to the Abyssinians ceased. Jayyāsh fled accompanied by his brother's wazir Khalf son of Abu 'Iḥābir the Marwānī. They entered Aden in disguise and thence they proceeded to India, where they remained for six months. They met in that country a diviner, who came from (the island of) Sarandīb and who cheered them with happy predictions concerning their future fortunes. They returned to Yaman

and the wazīr Khalf proceeded in advance to Zabīd, where he spread a report of the death of Jayyāsh, and obtained an amnesty for himself. Jayyāsh also came to Zabīd, but remained in concealment.

The Governor of Zabīd at that time was As'ad ibn Shihāb, the maternal uncle of al-Mukarram, 114 and along with him 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, wazīr of al-Mukarram. This man entertained feelings of intense hatred against al-Mukarram and his dynasty. The wazīr Khalf contrived to win his confidence and played chess with Husayn the son of 'Aly. After a time he played with the father. He won his favour and then revealed to him the plans he had conceived touching the government, informing him that he was an adherent of the family of Najāh. Whilst playing, Khalf was one day speaking in a manner calculated to stimulate the dislike of his hosts to the Sulayhites,* when 'Aly ibn al-Kumm overheard him. 'Aly questioned him and Khalf revealed his purpose, swearing him to secrecy. During that time Jayyash was collecting his Abyssinian followers and spending money upon them, until they gathered to the number of five thousand men. He then suddenly, in the year 482, rose in insurrection at Zabīd. He seized the Government House, but treated As'ad ibn Shihab with kindness, in consideration of the infirmities with which he was afflicted, and set him at liberty. Jayyash became King of Zabīd and of Tihamah and instituted the Khutbah in the name of the 'Abbasides, whilst the Sulayhites recited it in the name of the 'Obaydites. Al-Mukarram unceasingly sent the Arabs on predatory expeditions against Zabīd, until Jayyash died at the commencement (read at the end) of the fifth century. He bore the surname

* I have read اسم instead of اسمى, but Ibn Khaldun's story, it will be observed, is not perfectly clear, nor is it consistent with 'Omārah's narrative.

of Abu 't-Tāmi (the Exalted), and was celebrated for his justice.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who, however, was opposed by his two brothers, Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Wāhid. A struggle took place between him and his two brothers, in which he eventually triumphed. He perished in the year 503.

His slaves raised to the throne his son Maṣṣūr ibn Fātik, a boy below the age of puberty, and they conducted the affairs of his kingdom; but the Prince's uncle Ibrāhīm came forth to attack him, and the slaves prepared troops to defend their own and the young Prince's authority. His other uncle 'Abd al-Wāhid thereupon rose in the city. Maṣṣūr sent to al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt Prince of Ta'kar, who came professedly to his assistance, but concealing treacherous designs. He heard that the people of Ta'kar had revolted against him, and turned back.

Maṣṣūr remained king of Zabīd until one of his slaves, Abu Maṣṣūr Mann Allah, was appointed his wazīr and poisoned him, in the year 517.

Mann Allah raised to the throne the Prince's son Fātik, a young child, in whose name he governed the kingdom. The wazīr was accused of attempting the honour of the women of the family of Najah, so that even the mother of the infant king Fātik fled from him, and took up her residence outside the city. Mann Allah was enterprising and brave, and he is celebrated for his wars with the enemy. He was
115 attacked by Ibn Najīb (ad-Daulah), the Dā'y of the Alides, against whom he successfully defended himself. It is he who erected stately colleges at Zabīd for the study of Jurisprudence. He also applied himself to the protection of the pilgrims and it was he that built the walls of the city. But after a time he addressed solicitations to the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyash. Perceiving no means of escape

from him, she consented, but having surrendered herself to him, she brought about his death by means of a cloth saturated with poison, which caused his flesh to waste away. This occurred in the year 524. He was succeeded in the guardianship of the young Prince, by Zurayk (or Ruzayk), a freedman of the family of Najāh.

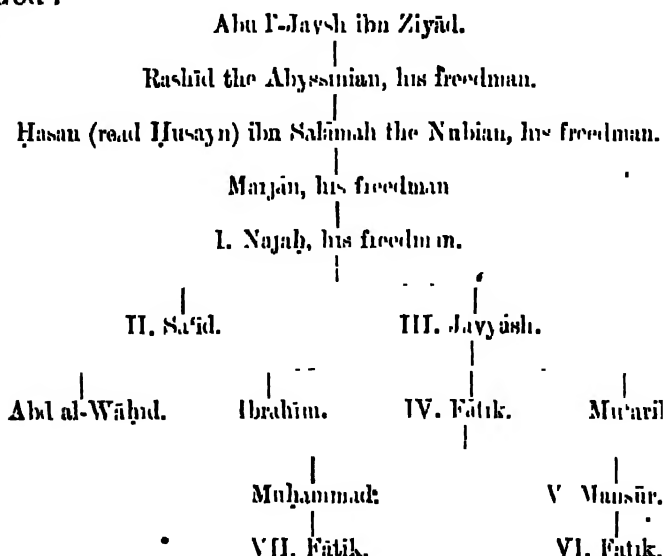
‘Omārah says of Zurayk that he was a sagacious man, remarkable for his bravery and fitness to command, and father of many children. After a time he became enfeebled, but no one succeeded to a firm hold of his office until the appointment, as wazīr, of Surūr the Abyssinian, who was surnamed al-Fāṭiki, and who was one of the freedmen in the personal service of the mother of Fātik.

According to ‘Omārah, Fātik son of Maṣṣūr died in A.H. 531. He was succeeded by the son of his paternal uncle, Fātik son of Muḥammad son of Fātik, with Surūr as his wazīr, the conductor of the affairs of the realm and of the wars with his enemies. Surūr was a constant attendant at the Mosque, where he was at length slain by an assassin, whom ‘Aly ibn Mahdy the Kharijite employed for the purpose, and who killed him whilst he was engaged in the afternoon prayer on Friday, 12th Ṣafar, 551. The people rose to attack the impious murderer. He killed several attendants of the mosque, but was overpowered and slain. The freedmen of the family of Najāh were thrown into a state of consternation. They were attacked by ‘Aly ibn Mahdy the Kharijite, who fought many battles with them and besieged them for a long period of time. They besought assistance of the Sharīf al-Maṣṣūr Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah the Suleymānite, who ruled over Sa’dah.* He consented to help them, on condition of their raising him to the throne after killing their master Fātik ibn Muḥammad. They agreed to his

* See Note 130.

conditions. The Prince was slain in A.H. 553 and the Sharif Aḥmad was proclaimed King. But he was unable to withstand ibn Mahdy and fled under cover of night. ‘Aly ibn Mahdy possessed himself of the city in 554, and the dynasty of Najāḥ came to an end. Perpetuity belongeth unto God !

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**THE HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANU ZURAY‘
AT ADEN, DĀ‘YS OF THE ‘OBAYDITES IN YAMAN,
OF ITS RISE AND PROGRESS.**

ADEN is one of the strongest cities of Yaman. It is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and has ever been a city of trade since the days of the Tubbas. Most of its inhabitants’ houses are constructed of reeds, and in consequence thereof fires frequently break out at night.

In the early years of Islām it was the seat of government of the Banu Ma’n, who according to

al-Bayhaḡi claim to be descended from Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, and who possessed themselves of the city in the days of al-Ma'mūn.¹¹⁰ They refused submission to the Banu Ziyād, who were obliged to content themselves with having the Khutbah and coinage in their names.

When the Da'ī 'Aly ibn Muḥammad as-Sulayḡi conquered Yaman, he maintained in favour of the Banu Ma'n the protection due to them as Arabs, and imposed upon them the payment of a fixed tribute. But his son Ahmad al-Mukarram expelled the Banu Ma'n from the city and appointed over it
117 the Banu 'l-Karam, a family belonging to his tribe, that of Jusham ibn Yām, a subdivision of the Banu Hamdan. That family was the most nearly related to him in the tribe. The province remained under their rule for a time, but discord arose among them and they became divided into two parties, the family of Mas'ūd son of al-Karam, and the descendants of Zuray' son of al-'Abbas son of al-Karam. The latter after severe fighting prevailed over their opponents.

Ibn Sa'id says that the member of the dynasty who first attained celebrity, was the Da'ī Saba son of Abu Sa'ūd son of az-Zuray'. He was the first to exercise undivided power over the State, after the disappearance of the Sulayḡite supremacy, and his children inherited the throne. Saba was attacked by the son of his uncle, 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt son of Mas'ūd son of al-Karam, lord of Za'āzi'. He (Saba) wrested Aden from his ('Aly's) hands, after the infliction of much suffering and at the cost of a heavy expenditure of money on the desert Arabs. He died in A.H. 533, seven months after the capture of the city. He was succeeded by his son al-A'azz, whose place of abode was the castle of ad-Dunlūwah, the fortress, which (by reason of its great strength) no enemy ever desires to

attack.¹¹¹ Bilāl ibn Jarīr, a freedman of the Banu Zuray', opposed al-A'azz at Aden and desired to transfer the authority exercised over the city by the retainers of the Prince, to Muḥammad son of Sabā son of Abu Su'ūd son of Zuray'. Muḥammad ibn Sabā, in fear for his own safety, fled to Dhu Jiblah and placed himself under the protection of Maṣṣūr ibn al-Mufaddal, the Sulayhite King of the Highlands of Yaman.

Al-A'azz died shortly after, and Bilāl sent for Muḥammad ibn Sabā, who thereupon came to Aden. A deed of investiture had come from Egypt in the name of al-A'azz. The name of Muḥammad ibn Sabā was substituted for that of his predecessor. Among the titles of honour which the charter conferred were those of *the Great, the Crowned, the Mighty Dā'y, the Sword of the Prince of the Faithful*, all which were assumed by Muḥammad. Bilāl gave him his daughter in marriage and placed at his disposal the wealth he had accumulated in his treasury. After a time Bilāl died leaving immense riches, which were inherited by Muḥammad ibn Sabā and which he devoted to great and benevolent objects. He purchased the fortress of Dhu Jiblah, the residence of the Sulayhite kings, from Maṣṣūr ibn al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, as we have already mentioned, and he married Sayyidah (read Arwa) the daughter of ('Aly son of ?) 'Abd Allah the Sulayhite. Muḥammad died in A.H. 548 and was succeeded by his son 'Imrān son of Muḥammad son of Sabā. The affairs of his government were conducted by Yāsir son of Bilāl, and 'Imrān died in 118 A.H. 560, leaving two infant sons, Muḥammad and Abu Su'ūd. Yāsir confined them to the palace, and exercised supreme power over the State.

He was greatly eulogized and was liberal in his rewards to the poets. Among those who came to his court and wrote in his praise, was Ibn Kalāḥis

the poet of Alexandria. The following line is from an ode he wrote in praise of Yāsir :—

Abandon thy home if thou desirest greatness—The crescent, having travelled, becomes a full moon.¹²

Yāsir was the last sovereign of the Zuray'ite dynasty. When Shams ad-Daulah Sayf al-Islām (read Turān Shah), brother of Saladin, invaded and conquered Yaman in A.H. 666 (read 569) he came to Aden, took possession of the city and laid hands upon Yāsir ibn Bīlāl. The dynasty of the Zuray'ites came to an end, and Yaman became subject to the Ghuzz (Turks, Kurds, Circassians, etc.); and to their chiefs, of the dynasty of Ayyūb, as we will relate in their history. The city of al-Juwah, near Aden, was founded by the Zuray'ite kings. The Ayyubite princes, when they became supreme, forsook that city and established their residence at Ta'izz in the mountains, as will hereafter be set forth.¹³

THE HISTORY OF IBN MAHDY THE KHĀRIJITE AND OF HIS SONS, THEIR RULE IN YAMAN, ITS RISE AND ITS FALL.

THIS man was a native of al-'Anbarah on the borders of the sea near Zabīd. His name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, the Ḥimyarite. His father Mahdy was noted for his virtue and piety. 'Aly was brought up in the religious opinions of his father, and he lived in retirement, devoting himself to a religious life. After a time he went on the pilgrimage. He met and became acquainted with certain doctors of 'Irāk, and he learnt from their preachers the art of warning and exhorting the people. He returned to Yaman, where he withdrew himself from society

and occupied himself in preaching. He was an eloquent expounder of the Kur'ān, and he foretold events about to occur in his career. His predictions were followed by their fulfilment. The people listened to him with favour and he acquired popularity.

From the year 561 he travelled to and fro on the pilgrimage, preaching to the people in the deserts. At the season of the *Mausim* he attended it mounted on a dromedary he possessed. When the mother of Fātik gained paramount influence over the Banu Jayyūsh, in the days of her son Fatik son of Mansūr, she became a firm believer in him, and she released him, his kindred and the families with which he was allied by marriage, from payment of the imposts on their lands. They prospered and were held in honour, they made use of riding horses, and the party they formed became powerful. It became 119 'Alī's habit to say in the course of his sermons, that the time was near, meaning thereby the time of his manifestation, a thing that was widely spoken of throughout the country. The mother of Fātik, until she died in A.H. 545, restrained the state officials from molesting him.

The people of the highlands had induced Ibn Mahdy to bind himself by oath to support them, and in 538 he came forth from (into?) Tihāmah and reached al-Kadri; but he was defeated and returned to the mountains, where he remained until 541. After that, the Lady the mother of Fātik restored him to his home, and she died in 545. Thereupon he departed and joined the Banu Khaylān, taking up his abode with one of their tribes known by the name of Haywan (Haydān?), the owners of a fortress named ash-Sharaf. The ascent to the castle is of exceeding difficulty and extends a distance of a day's journey from the foot of the mountain, over a painfully laborious road, and through a narrow and

steep pass. 'Aly¹ Mahdy gave these people the designation of *Ansār*, and upon his companions, who had accompanied him from Tihāmah, he bestowed the name *al-Muhājirūn*. He appointed a chief over the *Ansār*, of the name of Sabā, and another over the Muhājirūn to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islām, and whose name was an-Nūbah. With the exception of these two men, 'Aly Mahdy allowed no one to penetrate into his presence.

He now despatched depredating parties into the province of Tihāmah, and his success was promoted by the deserted condition of the country adjoining Zabīd. He stopped the traffic on the public roads, spread ruin throughout the district, and he penetrated to the castle of al-Dathir (read Dashir), half a stage from Zabīd. He plotted the assassination of the Regent Surūr and succeeded in his design, as has already been related. He now began to harass the city with repeated attacks. 'Omarah says that he attacked it on seventy occasions and besieged it for a long period of time. At length the citizens besought assistance of the Sharīf Ahmad ibn Hamzah, the Suleymanite Prince of Sa'dah. He gave them aid, but stipulated that they should slay their master Fātik son of Muḥammad, and they accordingly killed him in the year 553. The Sharīf was proclaimed sovereign, but was unable to withstand his enemies and took to flight. Thereupon 'Aly Mahdy seized the city in Rajab 554, but he died three months after his conquest.

He had assumed in the Khuṭbah the titles of *the Imām, the Mahdy, Prince of the Faithful, Subjugator of infidels and of the wicked*. He followed the doctrines of the Khārijites, denying the authority
120 both of 'Aly and of 'Othmān, and treated sin as infidelity. He established rules and laws for his sect, which it would be tedious to describe. He

punished the use of wine with death. According to 'Omārah, the penalty of death was likewise inflicted upon any Muslim, of whatever sect, who opposed him, and the wives and children of the condemned were reduced to slavery. His people believed him to be under Divine protection. Their property was in his hands. He supplied their wants and they possessed nothing, neither money, nor horses, nor weapons. He slew any one of his followers who fled from the field of battle. The fornicator, the drinker of wine, the listener to songs, were put to death, and death also was the punishment of any person who absented himself from the Friday prayers, or from the sermon he delivered on Mondays and Thursdays. In matters of Jurisprudence he was a Hanafite.

'Aly ibn Mahdy was succeeded by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter's brother 'Abd Allah rebelled against him and obtained possession of Zabid, where the *Khutbah*, in which he received the title of *Imām*, was recited in his name. But 'Abd an-Naby succeeded after a time in overcoming him. He expelled him from the city, and made himself master of the whole of Yaman. There were at that time twenty-five separate governments in the country, all of which he conquered. Aden alone remained unconquered, and 'Abd an-Naby subjected it solely to the payment of tribute.

When Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shah ibn Ayyūb, brother of Saladin, invaded the country in A.H. 566 (read 569) and overthrew the government of Yaman, he seized 'Abd an-Naby, extorted from him such information as he required, and took from him a great amount of riches. He carried him to Aden, which he captured. Then he went to Zabid and made it the seat of government. Conceiving ere long an unfavourable opinion of its salubrity, he made a journey to the mountains, accompanied by

his physicians, for the purpose of selecting a spot with a healthy atmosphere and wholesome water, in which to establish his place of residence. Their choice fell upon the site of Ta'izz, where Turān Shah founded the city, which became the seat of government to himself, to his descendants (read to his successors of the Ayyubite family), and to their freedmen, the Banu Hāsūl (who followed the Ayyubites), as we will relate in their history.

With the fall of the Banu Mahdy, Arab sovereignty came to an end in Yaman, and supreme rule was thenceforth held by the Ghuzz and by their freedmen.

We will now proceed to give a brief historical sketch of the capitals and cities of Yaman, one by one, as supplied by Ibn Sa'id.

YAMAN forms part of the Arabian Peninsula and comprises seven royal seats of government. It is divided into two parts. Tihamah and al-Jibāl (the highlands). Tihamah consists of two kingdoms, that of Zabīd and that of Aden. The name Tihamah denotes the low country of Yaman adjoining the sea-coast and extending from as-Sirrayn on the borders of Hijāz, to the extremity of the province of Aden, round by the Indian Ocean. Ibn Sa'id states that the Arabian Peninsula is situated in the First Climate and that it is bounded by the Indian Ocean on the south, by the Sea of Suez on the west, and by the Persian Sea on the east. Yaman belonged in ancient days to the Tabābrih (the Tubbas). It is a more productive country than the Hijāz. Most of its inhabitants are descendants of Kaḥṣān, but it contains also people of the tribe of

'Anz son of Wā'il.¹¹⁴ It is ruled^d at the present day by the Banu Rasūl, clients of the Banu Ayyūb, and their capital is Ta'izz, which succeeded al-Jawwah, where the Rasūlites at first took up their abode. The Imam of the Zaydites resides at Ṣa'dah in Yaman.

ZABĪD (named after its capital) is one of the kingdoms of Yaman. On its north is Hījaz, on the south the Indian Ocean, and on the west the Sea of Snez. The city was founded by Muḥammad ibn Ziyād in the days of al-Ma'mūn, A.H. 204. It is enclosed in walls, and a stream of running water penetrates into the city, introduced by its kings. Close to it are low-lying grounds planted with palm trees, a spot resorted to during the dry season.* Zabīd is now part of the kingdom of the Banu Rasūl. It was formerly the seat of government of the Banu Ziyād and of their freedmen, and it was conquered by the Banu Ṣulayhi, whose history has been related.

122 'ATHTHAR, HAIY and ASH-SHARJAH are provinces of Zabīd, in its northern part, and are known as the dominions of Ibn 'arf. They extend over a distance of seven days' journey by two days', from ash-Sharjah to Haiy. From the latter to Mecca is eight days' journey. 'Aththar is the seat of government, and it is situated on the borders of the sea. Suleymān ibn 'arf held the place against Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād, and his revenues amounted to 500,000 dinārs. After a time he submitted to Abu 'l-Jaysh, introduced his name in the Khutbah and paid him tribute. At a later period, the kingdom passed into the hands of the Suleymānites, descendants of Hasan, and Amirs of Mecca, on their being expelled from that city by the Hūshimites.† (Ḥālib (read

* See Ibn Baṭūṭah, vol. ii. p. 167-8.

† Touching this statement and others by Ibn Khaldūn to the same effect, see Note 130.

Ghānim) ibn Yahya belonged to that family, and he paid tribute to the Prince of Zabid. It was from him that Muḥliḥ the freedman of Fātik sought assistance against Surūr. Ghānim was succeeded by 'Isa the son of Hamzah, who was one of the sons of Ghānim. When the Ghuzz conquered Yaman, Yahya the brother of 'Isa was taken prisoner and carried to 'Irāq. 'Isa contrived to obtain his brother's release, and Yahya returned to Yaman, where he slew his brother and became ruler of the principality.

AL-MAHLAM is one of the provinces of Zabīd, at a distance of three days' journey from that city. The Arabs who inhabit it belong to the tribes of Hakam and Ja'far (read Ju'fi?), two sub-divisions of the tribe of Sa'd al-'Ashirah. Ginger is exported from that province.

AS-SIRBAYN is the furthestmost place of the Tihāmah of Yaman. It is on the borders of the sea, unwall'd, and its houses are built of reeds. It was conquered about A.H. 650 by Rajih son of Kāṭadah, Sultān of Mecca, and he possessed a castle at half a day's journey from the town.

AZ-ZARĀ'IB is one of the provinces north of Zabīd. It belonged to Ibn Tārf. He was supported in that district by twenty thousand Abyssinians. When the Dā'y as-Sulayhī arose, he attacked Ibn Tārf at az-Zarā'ib, with about three thousand men, put him to flight and killed all the Abyssinians that were with him.

Ibn Sa'id says, speaking of the provinces of Zabīd and of those that border on the middle road between the sea and the mountains, that az-Zarā'ib stands on the Zabīd road, north of that city, and that the road is the great highway to Mecca. 'Omārah says that it is the royal highway, that it is distant a day's journey, or less, from the sea and at the same distance from the mountains, and that the

two roads, the middle one and that running along the sea-shore, join and diverge at as-Sirrayn.

- 123 **ADEN** is one of the kingdoms of Yaman, south of Zabīd. The city is the seat of government, and it is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean. It has been a place of trade since the days of the Tubbas. It is thirteen degrees distant from the equator. Its soil produces neither crops nor trees, and the food of its inhabitants consists of fish. It is the port of embarkation for India from Yaman. It was at first ruled by the descendants of Ma'n son of Zā'idah, who resisted the authority of the Banu Ziyad, but paid them tribute. When the Sulayhites became supreme over the country, the Dā'y 'Aly confirmed the Banu Ma'n in their government. But his son Ahmad al-Mukarram afterwards ejected them, and appointed over the country the Banu al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusham son of Yām, his kinsmen, and like himself, descendants of Hamdān. The Banu Zuray', a family of the Banu Karam, became possessed of exclusive power, and they inherited the office of Dā'y held by the Sulayhites, as well as their sovereignty, all which has already been related. 'Aly ibn Mahdy was not able to subdue the Zuray'ites, and he was obliged to content himself with the tribute they paid him, until they were conquered by Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shāh son of Ayyūb, as hereinbefore mentioned.

ADEN-ABYAN is a well-built city in the neighbourhood of ash-Shihr.*

AZ-ZA'AZI' stands in the valleys of Aden, and belonged to the Banu Mas'ūd ibn al-Karam, the rivals of the Banu Zuray'.

AL-JAWWAH was built by the Zuray'ite kings in the neighbourhood of Aden. The Ayyubites made it their place of residence, but afterwards they removed to Ta'izz.

* See Note 11.

THE CASTLE OF DHU JIBLAH is one of the fortresses of the Mikhlāf of Ja'far. It was built by 'Abd Allah the Sulayhite, brother of the Dā'y ('Aly), in A.H. 458. 'Aly's son al-Mukarram removed thither from the castle of San'a together with his wife Sayyidah daughter of Ahma'l, who gained absolute control over her husband. It was she who completed the castle to its full height, in the year 480.

Al-Mukarram, before his death, had committed supreme authority, that of King and of Dā'y, to Salā son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar the Sulayhite, who occupied the castle of Ashyah. Sayyidah relied for support upon the chief of the Banu Janb, a people who, in pre-Islamitic days, were of small repute, but who gained a conspicuous position in the province of Ja'far. After a time Ibn Najib ad-
121 Daulah came from Egypt as Dā'y. He abode in the city of Janad and obtained support from the tribe of Hamdān. Sayyidah fought against him, aided by the Banu Janb and Khaulān, until he embarked at sea and was drowned. After the death of her husband al-Mukarram, her affairs were directed by al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, who established his influence over her.

AT-TAKAR, in Mikhlāf Ja'far, belonged to the Banu Sulayhi and subsequently to Sayyidah. Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat having asked for it, she delivered the place to him and he dwelt therein, until he went forth and besieged the Banu Najāh at Zabid. His absence prolonged itself, and certain fakihis (Jurists) revolted at Ta'kar, killed al-Mufaddal's deputy and proclaimed Ibrahim ibn Zaydan, one of their number, who was uncle of 'Omārah the poet. They asked assistance of the Banu Khaulān, and al-Mufaddal thereupon returned and besieged them, as we have already related.

THE FORTRESS OF KHUDAD (Khadid) belonged to 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite, and is situated

in the Mikhlāf (province) of Jaʿfar. Al-Mufaddal had introduced into the fortresses of the province, a large number of Khaulānites belonging to the tribes of Bahr, Munabbih, Rizāh (Rāzih?) and Shaʿb (Shaʿb-Hay). When al-Mufaddal died, the Khaulānites seized the fortress of Taʿkar, but Dhu Jiblah continued in the possession of Maṣṣūr son of al-Mufaddal, under the guardianship of Sayyidah, as already related. Muslim ibn az-Zarr the Khaulānite suddenly arose and captured the fortress of Khudad from ʿAbd Allah ibn Yaʿla the Sulayhite. ʿAbd Allah fled to the fortress of Maṣṣūd and Sayyidah appointed Muslim ibn az-Zarr successor to al-Mufaddal. She acted with scrupulous good faith towards him and towards his two brothers (read sons) Imran and Suleymān. He died and his son Suleymān succeeded him in the joint possession, along with Sayyidah, of the fortress of Khudad, replacing his brother (read his father) Muslim. She married him to the daughter of the Ḳāʾid Fath, governor on her behalf of the fortress of Taʿkar, of which Suleyman contrived by treachery to dispossess him. The Khaulānites extended their hands (oppressively) over the people, and Sayyidah sought assistance against the two brothers from the Banu Janb. Imrān and Suleyman were the Queen's advisers, and it was they who by her orders expelled the Dāʿy Najīb ad-Daulah from the city of Janad and from Yaman.

THE FORTRESS OF MAṢṢŪD is one of the (great) fortresses of the province of Jaʿfar, which are five 125 (sic) in number, namely, Dhu Jiblah, at-Taʿkar and Khudad. When the Banu Khaulān wrested Khudad from the hands of ʿAbd Allah ibn Yaʿla the Sulayhite, he took refuge, as we have mentioned, in the fortress of Maṣṣūd. The Khaulānites took it from him likewise, but they were dispossessed by Zakariya ibn Shakir the Bahrite.

The Banu Kurandi, descendants of Ḥimyar, were Kings in Yaman before the days of the Sulayhites, and were dispossessed by the latter. They owned the province of Ja'far and its fortresses, the province of Ma'afir, that of Janad, of Ḥad,* and the fortress of Samadān.

The fortress of Masdūd was afterwards held by Maṣṣūr son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, who sold it to the Banu Zuray', as already mentioned.

ṢAN'Ā was the capital of the dynasty of the Tubbas before the days of Islām, and was the first city built in Yaman. It is said to have been built by 'Ad, and it was called Uwāl (or Uwwāl), signifying primacy, in the dialect of the country.¹¹⁵ Ḥaṣr Ghumdāh, in its neighbourhood, was one of the seven temples. It was built by ad-Lahhāk and dedicated to Zuhrah.† It was an object of pilgrimage, and was destroyed by 'Othmān (the third Khalifah). Ṣan'a is the most celebrated city of Yaman. It possesses, it is said, a temperate climate. At the commencement of the fourth century, it was subject to the Banu Ya'fur, a family dating from the days (descendants?) of the Tubbas, but they resided at Kaḥlān, and Ṣan'a did not acquire celebrity as a royal seat (at that period), until it became the residence of the Banu Sulayhī. It was conquered by the Zaydites and then by the Suleymānites, after it had been held by the Sulayhites.

THE CASTLE OF KAHLĀN is one of the dependencies of Ṣan'a, and it belonged to the Banu Ya'fur, a family (descendants?) of the Tubbas.‡ It was built near

* The name Ḥad حَض is not in the printed edition. It looks, I think, like a copyist's error for حَصن.

† Commonly regarded as the Arabian Venus.

‡ Dr. Glaser marks upon his map a place *Kohlān*, about ten miles N.E. of Ḥajjah, a position which does not correspond with that mentioned in our text. But Ibn Khaldūn's statements must not unfrequently be received with caution. See Note 8, footnote.

Ṣan'ā by Ibrāhīm (son of Muḥammad son of Ya'fur), who possessed Ṣa'dah, Ṣan'ā, Najrān and other places in the highlands of Yaman. The Banu 'r-Rassy, the Zaydite Imāms, made war upon the Banu Ya'fur and conquered Ṣa'dah and Najrān. The Banu Ya'fur had recourse, for protection against their enemies, to the walls of the castle of Kaḥlān. Al-Bayhaḳī says that the castle was strengthened by As'ad ibn Ya'fur and that he fought against the Banu 'r-Rassy and against the Banu Ziyād in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk.

THE FORTRESS OF AS-SAMADĀN is also a dependency of Ṣan'ā. It contained the treasury of the Banu 'l-Kurandi the Ḥimyarites, until the fortress was taken by 'Aly as-Sulayḥī. Al-Mukarram restored
 120 to them some of their fortresses, which they held until they were deprived of power by 'Aly ibn Maḥdy. They possessed the province of Ja'far, in which the city of Dhū Jiblah and the fortress of at-Ta'kar are situated. The Mikhlāf Ja'far consists of the provinces of Janad and of Ma'afir. The seat of government of the Banu Kurandi was Samadān, a fortress stronger than Dumlūwah.

THE CASTLE OF MINḤAB is one of the castles dependent upon Ṣan'ā, situated in the highlands. It was taken by the Banu Zuray' and was appropriated by a member of that family, al-Mufaḍḍal, son of 'Aly son of Raḍī son of the Da'y Muḥammad son of Ṣabā son of Zuray'. The author of the *Kharīdah*¹¹⁰ gives him the title of Sulṭān. He further mentions that al-Mufaḍḍal was owner of the castle of Minḥab and that he was alive in the year 586. After his death the castle passed into the possession of his brother al-A'azz ibn 'Aly.

MOUNT AL-MUDHAYKHIRAH is near Ṣan'ā. The province of Ja'far was founded by Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyād Sulṭān of Yaman, and was named after him.

'ADEN-LĀ'AH is close to al-Mudhaykhirah.* It is the place in which the Shī'ah doctrines were first openly preached in Yaman. The Dā'y Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was a native of 'Aden-Lā'ah, and it was to that place that Abu 'Abd Allāh ash-Shīyā'i, the Ismailite missionary to North Africa, came. It was there also that 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayḥite studied in the days of his youth. 'Aden-Lā'ah was the chief centre for the propagation of the Ismailite doctrines in Yaman. Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was the Dā'y in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād and of As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

BAYḤĀN is mentioned by 'Omārah among other districts in the mountains† It was possessed by Nashwān ibn Sa'īd the Kahtānite (and Himyarite).

TA'IZZ is one of the greatest of the mountain fortresses that overlook Tihamah. It has always been one of the royal strongholds. It is now the seat of the Rasūlite dynasty, and it is regarded as one of the chief cities of their kingdom. Among other Yamanite kings by whom it was inhabited, was Mansūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abn 'l-Barakāt, of the family of the Sulayḥites (read the Himyarite). His father was (became) possessed of Ashyah and made himself master of the fortresses owned by the Banu Abi 'l-Barakāt and by the Banu 'l-Muẓaffar. His son Manṣūr inherited them, but sold them one
127 after the other to the Dā'y the son of al-Muẓaffar and to the Zuray'ite Dā'y (read, sold them to the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Sabā the Zuray'ite), until none remained to him but Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by Ibr Mahdy.

THE FORTRESS OF ASIRYAN is one of the greatest of the mountain strongholds, and it contained the treasures of the Banu Muẓaffar. It was owned by the Dā'y al-Manṣūr Abu Himyar Sabā son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar the Sulayḥite, to whom it was

* See Notes 10 and 11

† See Note 9.

bequeathed by the son of his paternal uncle al-Mukarram, Lord of Dhu Jiblah. (The Egyptian Khalifah) al-Mustansir appointed him supreme Dā'y, and he died in A.H. 486 (read 492). His son 'Alī gained possession of the royal fortress of Ashyah. Al-Mufaddal was unable to prevail against him, but eventually contrived an artifice whereby he brought about his rival's death by poison, and the fortresses of the Banu Muẓaffar passed into the possession of the family of Abū 'l-Barakat. Al-Mufaddal died and was succeeded by his son Maṣṣūr. The latter after a time disdained the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father and sold all its fortresses. He parted with Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, Prince of Aden, for one hundred thousand dinārs. He sold also the fortress of Sabir, after having sworn the oath of divorce that he would not do so. His wife was consequently divorced from him and was taken in marriage by the Zuray'ite. Maṣṣūr enjoyed a long life. He succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty and reigned for eighty (thirty?) years.* The fortress of Ta'izz was taken from him by 'Alī ibn Mahdy.

ṢA'DAH is a kingdom adjoining that of San'ā and situated on the east thereof. It contains three seats of government, Ṣa'dah, Jabal Kuṭābah † and the fortress of Thulā, besides other strongholds. The entire country is known as that of the Banu 'r-Rassy, whose history we have already related (*infra*, p. 184).

THE FORTRESS OF THULĀ is the place that first witnessed the rise of al-Mūfi, who restored to the Banu 'r-Rassy the Zaydite Imamate, of which they had been deprived by the Banu Suleymān.‡ The adherents of the Rassites withdrew to Jabal Kuṭābah, and in the year 645 they swore allegiance to

* See Note 99.

† See below.

‡ See Note 130.

Aḥmad al-Mūti. He was a Jurist and a pious man. Nūr ad-Dīn ('Omar) ibn Rasūl besieged him in the fortress for a year. He collected troops for the purpose of (renewing?) the siege, but he died in 128 A.H. 648 (read 647). His son al-Muzaffar (Yūsuf) became absorbed in the siege of ad-Dumlūwah, whilst al-Mūti acquired great power and became possessed of the fortresses of Yaman. He marched upon Ṣa'dah and the Suleymānites, whose Imām, as has been related in the history of the Banu Rassy,[†] was Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil, swore allegiance to him.

KUTĀBAH is a lofty mountain on the east of Ṣa'dah, upon which stands a castle and villages.¹¹⁷ The Banu 'l-Hadi made it their place of refuge when the Suleymanites took Ṣa'dah from them, and there happened that which we have related.

HARĀZ and MASĀR. Harāz is part of the country of the tribe of Hamdan, and it is also the name of one of their sub-tribes, to which as-Sulayḥi belonged,¹¹⁸ whilst the fortress of Masār, in the district of Harāz, is the place where he first manifested himself. Al-Bayhaki says (of the Banu Hamdān) that their country is in the eastern (read western) portion of the highlands of Yaman.† They became dispersed after the appearance of Islam, and there are now no wandering communities of the Banu Hamdān elsewhere but in Yaman. They are the greatest tribe of Yaman. It was with their support that al-Mūti rose to eminence. They became masters of several fortresses in the highlands, where they possess the districts of the Banu Bakīl and Banu Ḥāshid, the two sons of Jusham, son of Ḥabwān (read Khaywān) son of Nauf son of Hamdān. Ibn Ḥazm ‡ says that the sub-tribes of Hamdān branch forth from Bakīl and Ḥāshid. End of

* *Infra*, p. 189.

† See Note 23.

‡ Ibn Ḥazm the genealogist died in A.H. 456.

the quotation (from al-Bayhaḳī). To the tribe of Hamdān belonged the family of Zuray', who exercised sovereignty and held the office of Dā'y at Aden and at al-Juwah. The Banu Yām, the tribe of the Sulayhites, are one of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdān. The Banu Hamdān are Shī'ahs. At the present time they carry heresy in their country to an extreme, and most of them are Zaydites.

THE COUNTRY OF (the BANU) KHAULĀN, according to al-Bayhaḳī, is situated in the east of the highlands of Yaman, adjoining the country of the Banu Hamdān. The Khaulānites possess the strongest fortresses of the highlands and of Mikhlāf Ja'far. They invaded the province of Ja'far in the days of the Sulayhite dynasty, and the Banu 'z-Zarr, who were members of the tribe, possessed themselves of the fortresses of Khudād, of Ta'kar and of others. The Banu Khaulān and the Banu Hamdān are the greatest tribes in Yaman. The Khaulānites have many sub-tribes, and they dispersed themselves throughout the countries of Islām, but at the present time not a tent of the tribe is to be found elsewhere but in Yaman.

- 129 THE DISTRICT OF THE BANU AṢBAḤ is situated in Wādī (valley of the) Saḥūl. Dhu Asbah, from whom they claim descent, has been mentioned in tracing the genealogy of the Tubbas and Aḳyāl (kings, descendants of Ḥimyar).

THE DISTRICT OF YAHṢUB borders upon that of the Banu Aṣbah. Yahṣub and Aṣbah were brothers.

THE DISTRICT OF THE BANU WĀ'IL. The chief city of this province is Shaḥiṭ. Its ruler was As'ad ibn Wā'il and the Banu Wā'il are a tribe of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. The latter are descended from (Ḥimyar and) Sabā. They conquered the country upon the death of al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah, governor of the highlands on behalf of the Banu Najāh (read Ziyād).

THE DISTRICT OF YARBŪ' is in the highlands. It was conquered by the Banu 'Abd al-Wāhid after the death of Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah. The inhabitants of the country had seized the frontier places. They were attacked by Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah, who made war upon them until they submitted. He built the city of al-Kadrā on the Mikhlāf (read river) Sahām and that of al-Ma'kir on the river Dhu'al. He died in A.H. 402.

THE COUNTRY OF THE BANU KINDAH is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Iḥḍramaut and upon A'jūr and ar-Raml. The Banu Kindah were ruled by a dynasty of kings, and their capital was Dammūn, which is mentioned by Imru 'l-Qays in his poems.*

THE COUNTRY OF MADHĤIJ adjoins the mountainous district of al-Janaḍ, and it is inhabited by the Banu 'Aus, Zubayd and Murād, sub-tribes of the Banu Madhĥij. A portion of the Banu 'Aus are in North Africa, allied with the native wandering tribes. The Banu Ḥurab, a subdivision (read kinsmen) of the Banu Zubayd, inhabit the country between Mecca and Medinah in Ḥijāz. The Banu Zubayd of Syria and Mesopotamia are a subdivision of the tribe of Ṭa'y, and do not belong to the tribe here in question.

THE COUNTRY OF THE BANU NAHD lies in the hollows of the Sarawāt and so also Tabālah. The Sarawāt (plural of Sarāt) are (the chain of mountains) between Tihāmah on the one side, and the highlands
180 of Yaman and of Ḥijāz on the other. They bear a resemblance to the back (sarāt) of a horse. The Banu Nahd are derived from Qudā'ah, and they settled in Yaman in the neighbourhood of the Banu Khath'am. The Banu Nahd are like wild beasts, and the vulgar call them *as-Sarwa*. Most of them

* See Hamdāni's Geography, p. 85.

are a mixed race, partly descended from the Banu Khath'am and Bajilah.

TABĀLAH is in the country of the Banu Nahd, and it is inhabited by a people possessed of considerable power, who belong to the tribe of 'Anz ibn Wā'il. This is the place of which al-Hajjāj was appointed ruler, and which he disdained and relinquished.

THE COUNTRIES ADJOINING YAMAN.

AL-YAWĀMAH is the first. Al-Bayhākī says that it is a separate country with its own rulers, but the actual fact is that it is part of Hijāz, precisely as Najrān is part of Yaman. Such is also the opinion of Ibn Haukal. Yamāmah, as a kingdom, is inferior to Hijāz.* Its territory is called *al-'Arūd*, on account of its interposing between Hijāz and Bahrayn. On the east it is bounded by Bahrayn; on the west by the outlying extremities of Yaman and Hijāz; on the south by Najrān, and on the north by the Najd (highlands) of Hijāz. It is twenty days' journey in length, and it is four days distant from Mecca. Its capital is Hajr, written with *fath*. The city of Yamāmah was the seat of kings before the days of the Banu Hanifah. The latter afterwards adopted Hajr as their place of residence. Between the two cities is a distance of a day and a night's journey. The high-lying portions of the country are inhabited by sections of the tribesmen of Yarbū', derived from the Banu Tamīm, and of Banu 'Ijl. Al-Bakri says its name was Jaww, and that it was named after Zarkā 'l-Yamāmah, by the last Tubba' (read by Hassān ibn Tubba'). It is situated, as well as Mecca, in the Second Climate,

* de Goeje's ed. p. 18. There seems reason to suspect an error here, perhaps committed by Ibn Khaldūn himself. Ibn Haukal writes, speaking of the chief city of Yamāmah مَدِينَةُ دُونِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ (p. 26). See also the corresponding passages in Isfakhri, pp. 14 and 18.

and the two cities are equally distant from the equator. . Among the inhabited places of Yamāmah are Tūdiḥ and Karkara.* According to aṭ-Ṭabari, Raml 'Ālij is between Yamāmah and ash-Shilr. It is a country of nomads. Yamāmah and Ṭā'if belonged formerly to the Banu Hizzān son of Ya'fur son of Saksak. The tribes of Ṭasm and Jadis conquered the country, but were eventually overcome by the Banu Hizzān, who thenceforward ruled over Yamāmah, with the Banu Ṭasm and Jadis, as their dependants. The last king of the Banu Hizzān was Kurṭ son of Ja'far. Upon his death, the Ṭasm-ites possessed themselves of supreme power. 'Amlik, whose history is well known, was one of the tribe. The supremacy of the Ṭasm-ites was followed by that of the Banu Jadis. Al-Yamāmah, 131 after whom the city of Jaww was named, belonged to that tribe. Her history is well known. Yamāmah was next conquered by the Banu Ḥanīfah. Of them was Haudbah son of 'Aly, King of Yamāmah. He wore a crown, or according to other accounts, jewels strung together, none of the descendants of Ma'add having ever made use of a crown. After Haudbah, Thumāmah ibn Uthāl reigned over Yamāmah in the days of the Prophet. He was taken prisoner, adopted Islām, and continued steadfast in the faith throughout the days of apostacy. Musaylimah (the false prophet), whose history is well known, likewise belonged to the tribe of Ḥanīfah. Ibn Sa'id reports having asked the Arabs of Bahrayn and certain members of the tribe of Madh-hij, to what people Yamāmah belonged in his day. He was told in reply, that it was in the possession of Arab tribes descended from Kays 'Aylān, and that the fame of the Banu Ḥanīfah had perished throughout the country.¹¹⁰

THE PROVINCES OF ḤADRAMAUT. They are situ-

* See Hamdāni, p. 164.

ated, says Ibn Haukal, eastward of Aden on the borders of the sea.* The chief city of Ḥaḍramaut is small, but its provinces are of wide extent. It is separated from Aden on the one side, and from 'Oman on the other, by sandy wastes known by the name of the Aḥkaf (sand heaps). It was the dwelling-place of 'Ād, and it contains the tomb of Hūd, upon whom be peace. In its midst is the mountain of Shabām (Shibām). Ḥaḍramaut is situated in the First Climate and twelve degrees distant from the equator. It is reckoned as part of Yaman. It is a cultivated country and is planted with palms and other trees. Most of its inhabitants uphold the supremacy of the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, but they abhor 'Alī for having consented to submit his rights to human judgment. The largest city of Ḥaḍramaut in the present day is the fortress of Shibām, in which the horses of the king are kept. Along with ash-Shiḥr and 'Omān, it originally belonged to 'Ād, from whose people it was conquered by the Banu Ya'rūb son of Kaḥṭān. It is said that (the Banu) 'Ād were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Ḥaḍramaut?) by Ruḳaym son of Arām (Ruḳaym son of 'Abīr son of 'Ād?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hūd. He returned to the people of 'Ād and led them in ships to the country and to its invasion. They wrested it from the hands of its inhabitants, but they were themselves subsequently conquered by the Banu Ya'rūb son of Kaḥṭān.¹³⁰ Kaḥṭān ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Ḥaḍramaut, after whom it was named.

- 132 **ASH-SHIḤR** is, like Ḥijāz and Yaman, one of the kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. It is separate from Ḥaḍramaut and 'Omān. Ash-Shiḥr is so named after its capital. There is no cultivation, neither are there palm trees in the country. The

* de Goeje's ed. p. 32. See also Iṣṭakhri, p. 25.

wealth of the inhabitants consists in camels and goats. Their food is flesh, preparations of milk and small fish, with which they also feed their beasts. The country is also known as that of Mahrah, and the camels called *Mahrīyah* camels are reared in it.* Ash-Shihr is sometimes conjoined with 'Omān, but it is contiguous to Ḥaḍramaut and it has been described as constituting the shores of that country. It produces frankincense (lubān, olibanum), and on the sea-shore the Shihrite ambergris is found. It is bounded on the east and on the west (south?) by the shores of the Indian Ocean, on which Aden is situated, on the east (also?) by 'Omān. The Indian Ocean extends along the south and on the north Ḥaḍramaut, as if Shihr were the sea-shore of the latter. Both belong to one king. Shihr is situated in the First Climate and it is hotter than Ḥaḍramaut. It belonged in ancient times to the people of 'Ad, who were succeeded by the tribe of Mahrah, descended from Ḥaḍramaut, or according to other accounts, from Kuḍā'ah. The people who inhabit these sandy deserts are like wild beasts, and their religion is that of the Kharijites, according to the tenets of its branch sect, the Ibādites.†

The first of the Kahtanites who settled in Shihr was Mālik son of Ḥimyar. He revolted against his brother Wā'il (or Wāthil), who was king at Kaṣr Ghumdān. A lengthened war endured between them, and Mālik died. He was succeeded by his son Kuḍā'ah. Saksak son of Wā'il continued the war, until he subdued his enemy, and Kuḍā'ah was restricted to the possession of the country of Mahrah. He was succeeded by his son al-Ḥāf, who was followed by Mālik son of al-Ḥāf. The latter removed to 'Omān, where he thenceforward reigned.

* See Mas'udi (Barbier de Meynard), vol. i. p. 333-41, as also Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥaukal.

† See Mas'udi, vol. vi. p. 67.

Al-Bayhaḳī says that Mahrah son of Ḥaydan son of ('Amru son of) al-Ḥāf reigned over the countries of Kuḏū'ah, and made war upon his paternal uncle Mālik son of al-Ḥāf, Prince of 'Omān, and conquered that province. These people are now no longer borne in remembrance beyond the limits of their own country.

MIRBĀT and ZAFĀR, of the same measure as the word *nazal*, are two cities of Shuḥr.* Zafār was the seat of empire of the Tubbas, and Mirbāt was situated on the sea-shore. Both cities are now in ruins. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-
 183 Himyari, who bore the surname al-Bākhūdah (al-Ḥamūdi?), was a wealthy merchant. He obtained access to the prince of Mirbāt with his merchandise, and gained his confidence. After a time the prince appointed him to the office of wazīr, and upon his death Aḥmad al-Bākhūdah (al-Ḥamūdi) obtained possession of the throne. In the year 619 he destroyed the cities of Mirbāt and Zafār, and he built on the sea-coast the city of Zafār, written with the letter *z* moved by ḍamm, which he surnamed al-Aḥmadīyyah after himself. He destroyed the old city because it possessed no anchorage.¹²¹

NAJRĀN. The author of al-Kamā'im (?) says that it is a distinct district and separate from Yaman, others say it is a province thereof. Al-Bayhaḳī describes it as extending over a space of twenty days' journey. It lies to the north-east of San'a, bordering upon Ḥijāz. It contains two cities, Najrān and Jurash, of nearly equal importance.† The greater part of the country consists of desert, and its inhabitants resemble the wandering Arabs in their mode of life.

It contained the Ka'bah of Najrān, which was built on the model of Ghumdūn, the Ka'bah of

* See Note 7.

† Cf. Istakhri (de Goeje's ed.), p. 24, and Ibn Ḥaukal, p. 31.

Yaman. Some of the Arab people made it an object of pilgrimage and a place for sacrifices. It was known by the name of *ad-Dayr* (the Convent). *Kuss ibn Sa'idah* was in the habit of worshipping at the place.¹²² The *Kahtānites* who settled in the country were a section of the *Banu Jurhum*, but it was afterwards conquered by the *Banu Himyar*. They governed the country under the authority of the *Tubbas*. The rulers bore successively the title of *al-Af'ā* (the Viper). One of the *Af'ā* of *Najrān* bore the name of *al-Falammas* (*Kalammas*?) son of 'Amru son of *Hamdān* son of *Malik* son of *Muntāb* son of *Zayd* son of *Wā'il* son of *Himyar*. He was a diviner, and it was to him that the sons of *Nizār* resorted and referred their dispute, as is mentioned in this work. *Al-Falammas* was governor of *Najrān* on behalf of *Bilqis*. She sent him to *Sulaymān*, upon whom he pecc. He became a believer and spread the Jewish faith among his people. He lived to a great age. It is said that both *Baḥrayn* and *al-Mushallal* belonged to him.¹²¹

Al-Bayhaḳī says that the *Banu Madhḥij* next invaded *Najrān* and conquered it. Of them were the *Banu 'l-Hārith* son of *Ka'b*. Another authority relates that when the *Yamanites* went forth on the occasion of the floods of *al-'Arm*, they passed through *Najrān*. They were attacked by the *Banu Madhḥij*, and it was there that they became dispersed. *Ibn Hazm* says that the tribe of *al-Hārith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn al-Azd* settled, under a peaceful agreement, in the neighbourhood of the *Banu Madhḥij*. After-
134 wards they wrested the country from the *Banu Madhḥij* and held sway over it. Christianity was introduced into *Najrān* through the means of *Faymūn* (*Faynuyyūn*), whose history is commonly found in biographical works.¹²⁴ The rulership over *Najrān* by the *Banu 'l-Hārith* the *Madhḥijites* descended to

the Banu 'd-Dayyān (Rayyān?) and to the posterity of 'Abd al-Madān (son of Dayyān). Yazīd (son of 'Abd al-Madān), who lived in the days of the Prophet (whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace), made the profession of Islām to Khālīd ibn al-Walīd. He came as envoy to the Prophet with others of his people, but is not mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, and this is an amendment of that writer's omission.¹²⁵ Yazīd's nephew Ziyād, the son of his brother 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Madān,* was maternal uncle of (the Khalifah Abu 'l-'Abbās) as-Saffāh, who appointed him governor of Najrān and Yamāmah. He left two sons, Muḥammad and Yahya. The fourth century commenced with supreme authority exercised by the family of Abu 'l-Jūd ibn 'Abd al-Madān and rulership continued in their hands. War repeatedly arose between them and the Fatimites of Egypt, who at times dispossessed them of Najrān. The last of the dynasty was 'Abd al-Qays, who was deposed by 'Aly ibn Mahdy. He is mentioned and eulogized by 'Omārah.¹²⁶

And unto God, be He extolled and magnified, belongeth perfect knowledge of the truth.

135 HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANU 'R-RASSY, THE ZAYDITE IMĀMS AT SA'DĀH, THE RISE OF THEIR DYNASTY AND ITS VICISSITUDES.

WE have herein before given an account of Muḥammad ibn 'Ibrāhīm, he whose father bore the surname of Tabāṭabā, the son of Isma'īl son of Ibrāhīm

* Read Ziyād, descendant of Yazid's brother, was, etc.

son of Ḥasan the second, (son of Ḥasan son of 'Aly), of his revolt in the days of al-Ma'mūn, of his recognition by Abu Sarāya and of all that relates to him. Upon his death and upon the death of Abu Sarāya, and upon the failure of their enterprise, al-Ma'mūn issued an order for the arrest of Muḥammad's brother al-Kāsim ar-Rassy, son of Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā. He fled to Sind, where he remained until his death in A.H. 245. His son al-Ḥasau (read Ḥusayn) returned to Yaman, and of his posterity were the Imāms of Sa'dah in Yaman, where they founded a Zaydite dynasty, which has endured to the present day.¹²⁷

Sa'dah is a mountain east (*sic*) of Ṣan'ā, on which are many fortresses, the most celebrated of which are Ṣa'dah, the fortress of Tula (Thula), and the mountain of Kutābah. The whole of that country is named after the Banu Rassy. Yahya son of al-Ḥusayn son of al-Kāsim ar-Rassy was the member of the family who first rose to eminence. He proclaimed himself at Ṣa'dah, adopted the surname of al-Ilādy, and received oaths of allegiance in A.H. 288, during the lifetime of his father al-Ḥusayn. He collected a force consisting of his sectaries and other persons, and attacked Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'fur, or according to other authorities As'ad ibn Ya'fur, who had arisen at Ṣan'ā and at Kaḥlān (?), and who was a descendant of the Tubbas. Al-Ilādy seized upon Ṣan'ā and Najrān, ruled over them and struck coinage in his own name. But the Banu Ya'fur soon again wrested these places from him, whereupon he
186 returned to Ṣa'dah, and died in A.H. 298, after a reign of ten years. Such are the particulars given by Ibn al-Mujāb. He adds that Yahya was the author of works treating of things lawful and unlawful. According to other statements, he was an assiduous investigator of religious law. He held doubtful opinions on questions of Jurisprudence, and

was the author of books that are well known among the dissentient sects.

Aṣ-Ṣūlī¹²⁸ says that he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad surnamed al-Murtadā. The people rose against him, and he perished in the year 320, after a reign of twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his brother an-Nāṣir Aḥmad, whose authority was firmly established and passed on to his children after him.

His successor was his son Ḥusayn al-Muntakhab, who died A.H. 324, and he was succeeded by his brother al-Ḳāsim al-Mukhtār, who reigned until he was slain by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ad-Dahlāk, the Hamdānite, in A.H. 344.

Aṣ-Ṣūlī says that the sons of an-Nāṣir who succeeded to the throne were ar-Rashīd, al-Muntakhab, al-Mukhtār and al-Mahdy.* Ibn Hazm, in speaking of the descendants of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (read al-Ḳāsim) ar-Rassy, says as follows:—"Among others of his posterity there were the princes who ruled at Sa'dah in Yaman. The first was Yahya al-Hādy, who held opinions on Jurisprudence which I have investigated. They are not widely or fundamentally different from the received doctrines. His father (read, his son) Aḥmad an-Nāṣir had several sons, of whom the following ruled over Sa'dah after him, namely, Ja'far ar-Rashīd, next after him his brother al-Ḳāsim al-Mukhtār, then al-Hasan al-Muntakhab and Muḥammad al-Mahdy.† The Yamanite

* For al-Mukhtār, see Note 8 (footnote). The other three names are not mentioned by the author of the *Ḥadā'ik*, although he enumerates the sons and daughters of an-Nāṣir. See next footnote.

† The names of an-Nāṣir's sons, as given by the author of the *Ḥadā'ik*, were al-Ḳāsim Abu Muḥammad (al-Mukhtār), Isma'īl, Ḥasan, Ja'far, Yahya and 'Alī. The name al-Mahdy Muḥammad, cited in the text, may perhaps be referred to the Persian Imām, who died in Tabaristān A.H. 360. But he was a descendant of al-Ḳāsim son of Ḥasan, and not a member of the Rassy family. See the genealogical table, Note 107.

who was at Meridā in 343 styled himself 'Abdallah son of Ahmad an-Nāsir brother of ar-Rashīd, of al-Mukhtār, of al-Muntakhab and al-Mahdy."

Ibn al-Mujāb says that the succession to the Imāmate of the Banu Rassy continued until dissensions arose among them. The Suleymānites came from Mecca, on being expelled by the Hāshimītes. They conquered Sa'dah, and the dominion of the Banu Rassy came to an end in the sixth century.*

Ibn Sa'īd relates that among the members of the family of the Banu Suleymān, there was at the time of their removal from Mecca to Yaman, Ahmad son of Hamzah son of Suleymān.† The people of Zabīd besought his assistance against 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite, who was besieging the city, then under the rule of Fātik ibn Muḥammad, of the dynasty of Najah. He consented on
137 condition of their slaying Fātik, which they accordingly did in A.H. 553. They raised Ahmad ibn Hamzah (Suleymān) to the throne, but being unable to withstand the power of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, he fled from Zabīd and the city was taken by Ibn Mahdy. Ibn Sa'īd adds that 'Isa son of Hamzah, brother of Ahmad, possessed 'Aththar, one of the fortresses of Yaman.‡ Another member of the family was Ghānim son of Yahya. Then the power of the Suleymānites perished throughout the whole of Tihāmah, throughout the highlands, and throughout Yaman, at the hands of the Banu Mahdy. Next afterwards the Ayyūbites conquered these countries

* With reference to the above and to most of what follows, see Note 130.

† Read Ahmad son of Suleymān. See Notes 88 and 130.

‡ Instead of brother of Ahmad, we may perhaps read brother of Yahya (father of Ghānim). See Note 88. But see also *supra*, p. 167, where Ghānim is said to have been succeeded by a grandson named 'Isa son of Hamzah.

and held the Suleymānites in subjection. The Suleymānite sovereignty was lastly held by al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allah son of Aḥmad son of Ḥanzah.* Ibn al-‘Adīm,¹²⁹ says that he inherited the throne at Sa‘dah from his father. He displayed a hostile demeanour towards the ‘Abbaside Khālifah an-Nāṣir (A.H. 575—622), with whom he affected a tone of equality, and he sent his Dā‘ys to the Daylamites and to Jilān, with the result that the Khuṭbah was recited among these people in his name, and that he appointed governors over them. An-Nāṣir endeavoured to raise the Arabs of Yaman against al-Manṣūr by means of subventions, but could not prevail against him.

Ibn al-Āthīr says that al-Manṣūr ‘Abd Allah, son of Aḥmad son of Ḥanzah, Imām of the Zaydites at Sa‘dah, collected troops in A.H. 592 and marched upon Yaman. Al-Mu‘izz son of Sayf al-Islām Tughtakin ibn Ayyūb was filled with alarm, but went forth to meet him, and put him to flight. Al-Manṣūr again collected, in A.H. 612, an army composed of Hamdānites and Khaulānites. Great agitation was produced in Yaman, and (the Ayyūbite Sulṭān al-Mas‘ūd (Salāḥ ad-din Yūsuf) son of al-Kāmil, at that time sovereign of the country, was filled with apprehension. He had Kurdish and Turkish troops, and the commander-in-chief, ‘Omar ibn Rasūl, recommended promptitude of action, ere the enemy could gain possession of the fortresses. Disputes broke out among the followers of al-Manṣūr, and on being attacked by al-Mas‘ūd his army was routed.

Al-Manṣūr died in A.H. 630 at an advanced age.† He left a son named Aḥmad, whom the Zaydites raised to the throne. They did not recognize him as Imām, but they waited for the increase of his

* Read ‘Abdallah son of Ḥanzah.

† Read, in 614, aged 53 years.

138 years and for evidence that in his character he fulfilled the requisite conditions. In A.H. 645, certain Zaydites, inhabiting the fortress of Tula (Thula), proclaimed allegiance to al-Mūṭi, a member of the Rassite family. His name was Aḥmad ibn al-Husayn, a descendant of al-Hādy. When the Banu Rassy were driven from the seat of their Imāmate at Ṣa'dah by the Suleymanites, they took refuge on the mountain of Kutābah, east of Ṣa'dah (*sic*). There they remained, and members of the family successively and uninterruptedly exercised the office of Imām, publicly asserting their right to supreme authority. This continued until the Zaydites recognized Aḥmad al-Mūṭi.

He was a highly trained jurist, learned in the doctrines of his sect, constant in prayer and assiduous in fasting. He received the oaths of fealty in A.H. 645.

His career raised apprehension in the mind of Nūr ad-dīn 'Omar ibn Rasūl. He besieged al-Mūṭi in the fortress of Tula (Thula) for a year, but the Imām was successful in his defence. Nūr ad-dīn relinquished the siege, and set about collecting troops from the neighbouring fortresses for the purpose of resuming it. He was assassinated (A.H. 647), and his son al-Muzaffar (who succeeded him) devoted his efforts exclusively to the fortress of Dumlūwah. Al-Mūṭi increased in power. He made himself master of twenty fortresses, then marched upon Ṣa'dah and wrested it from the hands of the Sulaymānites.

They had proclaimed Aḥmad, son of their Imām 'Abd Allah al-Manṣūr, and upon al-Mūṭi being recognized as Imām at Thula, they gave Aḥmad the surname of *al-Mutawakkil*. They had waited for his advance in years, but on al-Mūṭi receiving oaths of allegiance, they recognized Aḥmad as Imām. When al-Mūṭi took Ṣa'dah, Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil went

down to him, swore allegiance and placed himself under his protection. This was in the year 649. In 650 he went on the pilgrimage, and the Zaydites of Ṣa'dah continued under the authority of the descendants of al-Mūti.¹³⁰

I was informed in Egypt that the Imām of Ṣa'dah, previously to A.H. 780, was 'Aly ibn Muḥammad, a descendant of the family. He died before that date and was succeeded by his son Ṣalāḥ, who received the oaths of allegiance from the Zaydites. Some of them maintained that he was not a lawful Imām, by reason of his not possessing the qualifications required in the holder of the office. He was in the habit of answering that he was prepared to be whatever they chose, Imām if they pleased, and if not, Sultān. Ṣalāḥ died at the end of A.H. 793 and was succeeded by his son Najāḥ. The Zaydites refused to recognize him, whereupon he said that he rendered account to God alone. This is what we heard in Egypt, touching the Zaydites, during our sojourn in that country.

And God is the Inheritor of the earth and of all that therein is.

ACCOUNT
OF THE
KARMATHIANS IN YAMAN,
EXTRACTED FROM
THE KITĀB AS-SULŪK,
OF
BAHĀ 'D-DĪN AL-JANADĪ.

In the days of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, the Karmathians appeared in Yaman, 'Aly ibn Fadl in the country of Yāfi', and Maṣṣūr ibn Ḥasan, who was known under the designation of Maṣṣūr al-Yaman.¹³¹

I will now, therefore, briefly relate their history, as it has been told by Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Mālik ibn Abi 'l-Kabā'il, a Jurist of Yaman and a learned Sunnite. He was one of the persons who joined the Karmathian sect in the days of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, and he acquired a thorough knowledge of its character. On becoming convinced of the depravity of the Karmathian doctrines, he abjured them, and he composed a celebrated treatise, in which he has described the principles upon which they are founded, he demonstrates their wickedness and warns his readers against their deceptions.

'Aly ibn Fadl, he says, was an Arab of the tribe named al-Aḥdūn (Ajdūn?), who trace their descent from Dhu Ḥadan (Dhu Jadān?).¹³² He was a Shi'ite of the Dodekito sect. He went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and thence he went forth with the pilgrim caravan of 'Irāk, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Ḥusayn (son of 'Aly). On reaching it he began uttering lamentations and cried

aloud, saying: "Would that (I had been) one of thy companions, O son of the Prophet, when the hosts of the wicked came forth against thee!"

Maymūn was in charge of the mausoleum and his son 'Obayd was with him as assistant.¹³³ When they beheld the condition of Ibn Fadl, they were filled with the desire to enlist him in their service. Maymūn spoke to him in private and made known unto Ibn Fadl that his son 'Obayd was destined to be the founder of a dynasty, which would be an inheritance unto his descendants, but that this thing could come to pass only after being prepared for in Yaman, at the hands of certain of his missionaries (dā'ys). "That may well be accomplished in Yaman," answered Ibn Fadl, "for ingenuity in the conduct of affairs is general among its people." Maymūn ordered him to remain and to wait until
140 he had considered the matter.

Maymūn was originally a Jew, who regarded Islām with envy. With the object of protecting his own religion, he made outward profession of Islām and devoted himself to the care of the tomb of Ḥusayn at Karbalā.* He was a native of Salamīyah, a city in Syria, and claimed to be a descendant of the family of 'Alī. Most of the Alides deny his pretensions, and God is all-knowing. Ibn Mālik pronounces him to have been a Jew.

A certain man, who belonged to Karbalā, entered into terms of friendship with Maymūn. He was known by the name of Manṣūr son of (Ḥusayn son of ?) Zādān son of Ḥaushab son of al-Faraj son of al-Mubārak, a descendant of 'Aqīl son of Abu Ṭālib. His grandfather Zādān was a Dodekite Shī'ah, and one of the chief men of Kūfah, and he appointed his sons to dwell at the tomb of Ḥusayn. When Maymūn came, he attached himself to Manṣūr, [and

* I translate this passage with considerable hesitation. Critical points here, as throughout the book, are generally absent.

perceiving] his eminent qualities and his fitness to command, he sought his friendship and his society. Maymūn was a man possessed of remarkable ability, which he employed for the furtherance of his objects. He was learned in the science of the stars, and it became known unto him that Maṣṣūr was destined to rule, and that he was to be one of the propagators of his son's claims. When Ibn Faḍl came and attached himself to him, Maymūn perceived that what he sought was found, Ibn Faḍl being a native of Yaman, well acquainted with the country and with its people.

Maymūn, speaking to Maṣṣūr said unto him : "O Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, verily submission to the law of God belongeth to Yaman, wisdom belongeth to Yaman, the foundation of all things is there, all great events have their beginning in Yaman and the issue endureth whilst its star endureth." I am of opinion that thou and our friend 'Alī ibn Faḍl proceed to Yaman. Ye shall call upon its people to recognize the authority of my son, and ye shall attain in that country power and dominion." Maṣṣūr had learned much from Maymūn of the means whereby their ends could be gained. He agreed to what was proposed. Maymūn brought him and Ibn Faḍl into one another's presence, he made them enter into a mutual compact, and solemnly charged each one to deal justly by his companion. Maṣṣūr's relation is as follows :—

"When Maymūn decided upon sending us to Yaman he exhorted and instructed us. He desired me, on my arrival, to conceal my objects, so that they might be more surely attained. Twice repeating the name of God, he charged me with the care of my companion, to protect him, to act justly towards him, and to enjoin upon him the practice of righteousness. 'He is one,' he added, 'unto whom a high destiny is reserved, and yet I cannot withal be

free of uneasiness respecting him.' Then turning to Ibn Faḍl, he said unto him: 'In the name of 141 God! In the name of God! I charge thee to deal righteously with thy companion. Respect him, recognize what is due to him and obey him. His knowledge is greater than thine, and it is greater than mine. If thou disregard his authority, thou shalt be deprived of safe guidance.'

"He bade us farewell, and we travelled with the pilgrims until we reached Mecca. We performed the rites of pilgrimage and then proceeded with the pilgrims of Yaman and reached Ghulāfiḳah.¹⁴⁵ We parted after mutual promises not to forget one another, and pledges that each should keep his companion informed of his proceedings. I went forth and arrived at al-Janad, then in the possession of al-Ja'fari, who had conquered it and wrested it from the hands of Ibn Ya'fur.

"The Shaykh Maymūn had solemnly enjoined me to commence the accomplishment of my mission at no other place but at one named 'Aden-Jā'ah, 'for,' he said, 'it is the town in which thy talents will find their field and in which thou shalt accomplish thine objects.' I was unacquainted with the place, and I reached 'Aden-Abyan. I sought information respecting 'Aden-Jā'ah and was informed that it was in the neighbourhood of Hajjah. I next inquired after any natives of the place who might have come to 'Aden-Abyan, and was directed to certain persons who had come for purposes of trade. I made their acquaintance and frequented their society and contrived to win their friendship. I told them that I was a man devoted to study, that I had heard they were natives of a mountainous country, and that I desired to visit it in their company. They bade me welcome, and when they departed I accompanied them. On the road I entertained them with the recital of traditions. I

urged upon them the observance of the duty of prayer, and they followed the examples I set them. On arrival at Lū'ah, I inquired for its principal city, and was directed to it. I proceeded thither and I became an assiduous frequenter of certain of its mosques. I devoted myself to the worship of God, and a large number of persons attached themselves to me. When I perceived that affection for me had taken possession of their hearts, I informed them that I had come to their country for no other purpose but to call upon them to recognize the Mahdy announced by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace. I made a large number swear to be faithful, and they commenced paying me the legal alms. When a considerable sum had accumulated in my hands, I told them it was necessary I should possess a place of defence, where the alms could be preserved in safety and which should be a treasure-house unto the Muslims. 'Ayn Muḥarrām was accordingly built for the purpose.

112 The fortress belonged to a people known by the name of Bann'ī-ʿAdā, and thither I removed the corn and money that had accrued to me.* When I proceeded to the fortress, carrying with me my possessions, five hundred men, who had sworn to be faithful, accompanied me, bringing with them their property and their families. I now openly exhorted unto submission to 'Obayd Allāh the Mahdy, son of the Shaykh Maymūn, and the people, without exception, showed themselves disposed to conform."

On gaining possession of the mountain of Maswar, al-Manṣūr adopted the use of drums and of standards. He was attended by thirty drummers, and whatever place he came to, the sound could be heard from a great distance. Al-Ḥawwālī (Ibn

* Al-Khazraji says that 'Ayn Muḥarrām stood at the foot of Mount Maswar.

Ya'fur) possessed a fortress on the mountain of Maswar, under the charge of a governor, from whose hands the place was wrested by al-Manṣūr. The latter, seeing that his authority was securely established, now wrote to Maymūn informing him thereof, and of his having overcome all opposition. He sent him splendid presents and articles of value. This was in the year 290. Maymūn, on the news reaching him, and on receiving the presents, said to his son 'Obayd (Allah): "Behold thy supremacy is now established, but my desire is that it shall be publicly proclaimed only from North Africa."¹³⁰ He then sent Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn son of Aḥmad son of Muḥammad son of Zakariyā, known under the name of *ash-Shayḥ* (the Shī'ite) and a native of Ṣan'ā, to North Africa, and ordered him to organize its people and to subject them to his son 'Obayd (Allah). Abu 'Abd Allah accordingly went forth as he was commanded. He was a man of remarkable ability, one of those whose names, on account of their talents in the science of government, become proverbial. His task was not completed until the year 296, when he wrote to the Mahdy informing him that the people recognized his authority, and he bade him come. 'Obayd (Allah), surnamed the Mahdy, hastened to comply, and arrived in the province of Africa. Abu 'Abd Allah had become possessed of supreme authority, and on arrival of the Mahdy, he delivered it into his hands. His brother reproached him saying: "An evil thing is this that thou hast done! Supreme power was in thine hands, and thou givest it unto another!" He continued to repeat these words until they impressed themselves upon his brother's mind. Abu 'Abd Allah resolved to betray the Mahdy, but the latter received information of what was occurring. He was filled with alarm, and instigated against his rival a person, by

whom Abu 'Abd Allah and his brother were slain on the same day, the fifteenth of Jamād al-Ākhir of 148 the year 298.

This man, 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) surnamed the Mahdy,* was ancestor of the sovereigns of North Africa who afterwards held Egypt. Ibn Khallikān says, touching the 'Obaydites' pedigree, that they were descendants of 'Obayd Allah, and that some persons term them Alides, thereby acknowledging their pretensions. And God is all-knowing.†

In the foregoing abstract, I have set forth the rise of the Karmathian power in Yaman, the events in which Maṣṣūr, a man of singularly sound judgment, was concerned, and his objects. The history of Ibn Faḍl will now be entered into at such length as to make known his achievements and adventures. His pedigree and birth-place have already been mentioned. Those who compiled the history of his life relate that when he parted from Maṣṣūr at Ghulāfikah, as hereinbefore stated, he ascended the mountains and proceeded to Janad. Thence he went forth to Abyan, which was at that time in the possession of a man of the tribe of Āshbah named Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Ula. From Abyan he proceeded to the country of Yūfi'. He found its people to be a medley of the basest of mankind. He withdrew into the valleys, and devoted himself to the worship of God. The people brought him food, of which he ate very sparingly, and only at the hands of those who believed in him. They inhabited the summits of the mountains ‡ and, filled

* On his coinage the name is written 'Abd Allah.

† See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. ii. p. 77. The account in our text of the death of Abu 'Abd Allah is evidently borrowed from *Ibn Khallikān* (*De Slane*, vol. i. p. 465).

‡ Khazraji states the contrary, namely, that Ibn Faḍl abode on the summit of the mountains and that the people dwelt in the valleys.

with admiration for him, they requested him to dwell in their midst. For a long time he would not consent, until, when they persisted in their demand, he told them that he was prevented from dwelling among them by their disobedience to the commands they had received enjoining the practice of righteousness, and by their neglect of the prohibitions to do evil and to indulge in intoxicating drinks and in wickedness. They swore to be faithful unto him, and to obey his commands, whereupon he promised that they should be rewarded. They now began to collect and to pay him the legal alms and tithes, and large sums accumulated in his hands. He attacked Abyan, slew the ruler of the province, declared the country and all it contained to be lawful booty unto his followers, and possessed himself of a large amount of wealth. He then marched upon Mudhaykhirah,* a large city on Mount Raymah, which was under the rule of the Ja'farite.† He attacked him repeatedly, his efforts were crowned with success, and the Prince was slain.‡ His country was declared to be lawful booty, and the women were reduced to captivity. Ibn Malik has entered, in his treatise, into full particulars of these events, but they are not necessary for the purposes of this book and may be deferred to another occasion. Ibn Faḍl having reached al-Mudhaykhirah was pleased with it. He there openly avowed his doctrines and made the city the seat of his government. Soon after he declared himself a prophet, and as such he proclaimed to his followers 144 the lawfulness of wine, and of intercourse with their

* In A.H. 291 according to Khazraji.

† Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Manāḳhi, according to Khazraji; but the correct reading seems to be Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm. See Note 6.

‡ A.H. 292 (Khazraji). Al-Ḥamdānī says (p. 75, l. 9) that Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm al-Manāḳhi was killed at Khawālāh, close to one of the sources of the Wādī Nakhlāh.

daughters and sisters. He proceeded to Janad at the season of the festival, the first Thursday of Rajab.* He mounted the pulpit and recited the well-known verses of which the following is a copy:—

Seize the tabour, O maiden, disport thyself, sing thy merriest songs and rejoice.

The prophet of the line of Hā-him hath passed away. But another hath arisen, and he of the stem of Ya'rub.

Every prophet hath his law. Harken now unto the law of this other prophet.

He hath released us from subjection to prayer and to fasts. No longer shalt thou suffer under their burden.

When others pray thou needest not rise, when they fast, eat thou and drink

Seek not the course between Šafa and Murrah,† nor to visit the tomb at Yathrib.‡

Deny not thyself the marriage-bed of thy nearest, whilst consenting to that of the stranger

How canst thou be lawful unto the stranger, and forbidden unto thy father?

Doth the plant not belong unto him that tended it and watered it in the days when it was yet unproductive?

Wine is lawful as the waters of heaven, and its use is now hallowed by the law.¹⁷

Ibn Faḍl's authority acquired increasing strength and stability. He conquered Mikhlaḥ Ja'far and Janad, and then determined upon attacking Šan'ā, at that time under the rule of As'ad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'fur. He marched by way of Dhamār and captured the fortress of Hīrrān. Its governor and most of the people accepted the doctrines of the new sect. The remainder took refuge with As'ad ibn Ya'fur. The latter on learning the strength of his enemy's forces fled, and Ibn Faḍl entered Šan'ā on Thursday, third of Ramaḍān of the year 299.¹⁸

At the time of his arrival exceedingly heavy rains

* See *supra*, p. 10.

† One of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca.

‡ Medinah.

occurred. Ibn Faḍl alighted at the mosque and caused the channels, provided for carrying away the water, to be closed. He ordered the women, captured at Ṣan'ā and elsewhere, to be brought to him, and he ascended the minaret. The women were cast into the water with uncovered faces and
 145 naked, and those that found favour in his eyes he took into the minaret and dishonoured. It is said that many virgins underwent that fate.

The water was retained in the mosque. It filled the building up to the ceiling, and the traces thereof may be perceived to this day. The fact is mentioned by the Ḳaḍi Ṣufayy (ibn Ibrāhīm), whose life will be related hereafter (among other biographies of Jurists).

Ibn Faḍl now shaved the hair of his head, and one hundred thousand persons followed his example. He ordered the house of Ibn 'Aubasah to be destroyed, expecting to find a large sum in gold, but only ten thousand dinārs were found, although Ibn 'Aubasah was one of the leading men of Ṣan'ā, who fled from the city along with As'ad. On hearing of the destruction of his house, he sickened and died.

When Maṣṣūr heard of Ibn Faḍl's capture of Ṣan'ā he was filled with gladness. He came unto him and they met and rejoiced with one another. Ibn Faḍl then went forth unto Ḥarāz * and besieged al-Mahjam, which he captured. Thence he proceeded to al-Kadrā and took it likewise. He then reached Zabīd, at that period under the rule of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak son of Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad who came to Yaman from Baghdad. It is said that Abu 'l-Jaysh fled from Zabīd, and according to other accounts, that he fought and that he was

* Kli says, to Ḥarāz and Milhān. The latter, also called Rayahān, is a mountain that overlooks Mahjam. See Yāqūt and Ḥamdāni, p. 68, l. 25.

slain by Ibn Faḍl.* Zabīd was declared lawful spoil. The women were reduced to captivity, and historians relate that about four thousand virgins were captured, besides mothers of children. Ibn Faḍl then started with his army for al-Mudhaykhirah, by way of al-Mirāl (r), a mountain east of Zabīd. On reaching a place named al-Madāḥis, or al-Mashākhīs,¹³⁰ he ordered his criers to proclaim a halt. The troops accordingly halted and were summoned to assemble. They obeyed and gathered around him; whereupon Ibn Faḍl spoke unto them, saying: "Ye know that ye have come forth for no other purpose but that of striving for the advancement of the cause of God. Ye have captured a large number of the women of al-Ḥusayb, but I cannot trust them with you, lest they fascinate you by their allurements and divert you from the holy war."¹³⁰ Let every man, therefore, slay the women that have accompanied him." They obeyed. The traces of their victims' blood continued visible for many years, and for that reason the place was named al-Madāḥis or al-Mashākhīs. On reaching al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Faḍl ordered the roads to be closed to traffic, especially the pilgrim roads. "Perform the pilgrimage," he said. "to al-Ḥarf, a place near al-Mudhaykhirah, and perform the minor ceremonies at ath-Thalāthi (r)." The latter is a valley in the vicinity of al-Ḥarf.†

When Ibn Faḍl beheld that his power over Yaman was securely established, he cast off his allegiance to 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymūn, for

* See Note 13.

† Al-Hamdani mentions al-Ḥarf (p. 69, l. 5) in the high-lying portion of Sarāt Kndām, not far therefore from Ḥajjah. But if that be the place referred to in our text, it is a long distance from Mudhaykhirah. Thālithah has been mentioned at p. 131, and Note 100, as a place in Mikhlaḥ Ja'far. See also in Sprenger, p. 153, Ḥiṣn Thalāth, near Ṣan'ā.

whose cause he had hitherto professed to labour. He wrote informing his colleague Maṣṣūr. The latter answered, reproaching him and saying: "How canst thou renounce the authority of him through whom alone thou hast acquired all that is good, and how canst thou discontinue the propagation of his supremacy? Rememberest thou not the pledges entered into between him and thee, and hast thou forgotten the identical injunctions he placed upon us to act together in harmony?" Ibn Fadl heeded him not, but again wrote, saying: "My case is that of Abu Sa'īd al-Jannābi!¹¹ Is it an evil thing in him that he hath proclaimed himself paramount? If thou dost not come hither and submit thyself unto me, I will make open war upon thee." When Mansur read these words the conviction of Ibn Fadl's treason was forced upon him. He ascended Mount Maswar and occupied himself in strengthening its works. "I have fortified this mountain," he said, "solely against that insolent rebel and against his like, for I perceived in his face the evil that was in him, when we met at San'a." Soon after sending his letter, Ibn Fadl prepared to attack Maṣṣūr. He collected for the purpose ten thousand men, the choice of his army. He marched from Mudhakkirah and reached Shibām.* Repeated battles were fought between his troops and those of Mansur. He then entered the district of Lā'ah and he ascended Mount Jamīmah, a word of which the first letter is moved by the vowel *a*. It is the same as Mount Fa'ish, near Maswar, and belonged to a tribe known by the name of Banu Muntāb.†

* The place here referred to, I presume to be Shibām-Akyān. See Note 11.

† I do not find the name Jamīmah in Hamdānī's Geography. For Jabal Fa'ish, see Note 11. Dr. Glaser has Dj. Djemime in lat. about 16° 6', but that can hardly be the same.

For eight months he besieged Mansūr without success. His long detention became grievous unto him, and Mansūr received information thereof. He sent proposals of peace, but Ibn Faḍl replied that he would not agree thereto, unless Mansūr sent him his son to remain with him, subject to his authority. It should not, he said, be reported of him that he had departed without gaining his ends, but it should be known and spread among the people, that he had left Mansūr of his good grace and not for lack of power. Mansūr complied with his demands. He came, accompanied by one of his sons, unto 147 Ibn Faḍl, who placed upon his neck a golden collar.*

On his return to al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Faḍl directed his efforts to the task of legalizing things prohibited by the law and of inculcating liberty to do that which is forbidden. He erected a large building, in which he was in the habit of collecting most of his sectaries, men and women, decked with ornaments and perfumed. The place was lighted with candles and the guests entertained one another with conversation of the most attractive and alluring character. Then the lights were extinguished and each man laid his hands upon a woman, whom having seized he did not abandon, even though she were unto him within the forbidden degrees. Sometimes it happened that what fell to a man's lot did not please him, either on account of his partner's years, or for some similar reason. He might endeavour to escape from her, but she would allow him no excuse. Ibn Mālik relates that a very aged woman once fell to the lot of a certain man. On discovering the fact he desired to slip away from her, whereupon

* According to Khazraḡi, it was Mansūr who placed a collar of gold round the neck of Ibn Faḍl.

she said to him : “ *Du bulda min 'dhi hukmu 'l-Amīr.*” *Du* is the negative in certain dialects of Yaman, and *dhi* is used for the relative pronoun *illadhi*. The sentence therefore signifies : There is no escape from that which is an ordinance of the Amir, that is to say, of Ibn Faḍl.

Such practices are most shameful and pernicious, and they are repudiated by all who follow the doctrines of Isma'ilism. They are things that cannot be proved against anyone but Ibn Faḍl. I have inquired of many persons, from whom correct information can be obtained respecting the doctrines of the sect. They condemned these misdeeds, and I found all agreed in regarding 'Alī ibn Faḍl as an atheist, whilst upholding Mansūr al-Yaman as one of the most distinguished and most worthy men of their sect. These opinions are in conformity with the conclusions I have myself arrived at, and they are firmly established in my mind.

When Ibn Faḍl in consequence of his partiality for al-Mudhaykirah made it his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Ya'fur, of whom mention has been made, to be his deputy over Ṣan'ā. He was not convinced that As'ad had really allied himself with him, and he was, on the contrary, apprehensive of treachery. He therefore made him his deputy at Ṣan'ā. As'ad was, indeed, keenly desirous to avenge the Muslims, and he was also filled with mistrust and with resentment against Ibn Faḍl. He rarely abode at Ṣan'ā, through fear of a sudden
 148 attack. Ibn Jarir says that the heading of Ibn Faḍl's letters to As'ad was as follows : “ *From him who hath spread out the plains of the earth and extended them as a carpet, who maketh the mountains to shake and who hath firmly rooted them, 'Alī ibn Faḍl, unto his slave As'ad.*” Naught besides those words is

required to convict him of atheism, from which God grant us to be preserved.

Whilst As'ad was acting as deputy for Ibn Fadl, there came unto him a stranger, said to be a Sharif and native of Baghdād. He became an associate and companion to As'ad. It is said that he was sent by the Sovereign of Baghdād for the purpose of contriving the death of Ibn Fadl, and he abode with As'ad for a time. This man, who was a surgeon, had a perfect knowledge of therapeutics, he was highly skilled in venesection, in the cure of wounds and in the administration of beneficial remedies. Perceiving the intensity of As'ad's fear of Ibn Fadl, he said to the Prince: "I have resolved upon making my life an offering unto God, and an alms unto the Muslims, that I may relieve them of this tyrant. Give me now thy promise, that if I return unto thee, thou wilt share with me the sovereignty thou shalt acquire." As'ad gave his consent, and the stranger equipped himself for his undertaking and left the Prince, who was then dwelling in al-Jauf, in the country of Hamdān, in perpetual fear of Ibn Fadl.* The stranger travelled until he reached al-Mudhaykhirah. There he sought the society of the foremost and greatest officials of the State. He attended upon them, bled them, and administered healing draughts and boluses. They mentioned him to Ibn Fadl, praised him and described the skill he displayed, which, it was said, was such that its possessor's services were meet for none but for such as Ibn Fadl or his equals in rank.

On a certain day Ibn Fadl desired to be bled. He inquired for the stranger, who was brought to

* Al-Jauf is the name given to a large district in the country of Hamdān, watered by four rivers, of which the most important is the Khārid (Hamdāni, p. 81). *

him. The physician, on being summoned, applied poison to his own hair on the front of his head, and his hair was very thick. On entering into the presence of Ibn Fadl, he was ordered to divest himself of his raiment and to put on other garments provided for the purpose. Ibn Fadl then commanded him to draw near for the purpose of performing the operation. He obeyed, and seated himself in front of him. He then produced the lancet and, placing it between his lips, he sucked it, to show that it was free from poison. Then he wiped it upon his hair at the spot where he had placed the poison, some of which adhered to the lancet. He now bled his patient from one of the veins of his hand, and having bound up the wound, he hastily departed. Resting
 149 his fears upon the praise he rendered unto God, he travelled forth from al-Mudhaykhirah, hastening to rejoin As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

When Ibn Fadl had rested for a while, he began to feel the effects of the poison. He became aware that he had been deceived by the phlebotomist and commanded him to be sent for, but the man could not be found. Ibn Fadl's desire for his capture increased, and he ordered him to be pursued whithersoever he might have gone, and to be brought back. Soldiers went forth seeking him in various directions, until one of them overtook the physician in Wādī Saḥūl, close to the mosque known by the name of *Kaynān*.* He would not surrender, but defended himself and was killed. His tomb is on that spot. It is a mosque for congregational prayer, supplied with a minaret. It is much visited, and blessings attend those who resort to it. I visited it in the year 696.

* Al-Ḥamdānī mentions *Kaynān* as situated in the province of Saḥūl and in the northern portion of the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', pp. 68, 6, and 100, 15.

The death of the physician was soon followed by that of Ibn Faḍl, on the night of Thursday the fifteenth of Rabī'u 'l-Ākhir of the year 303. The Muslims suffered under the trials of his usurpation, for a period of seventeen years. When As'ad heard of his death he rejoiced, and so did all the people of Yaman, with exceeding joy. They wrote to As'ad requesting him to attack Mudhaykhirah, and to destroy the dominion of the Karmathians. He consented and collected a strong force from Sau'ā and its neighbourhood. On his arrival in Mikhlaḥ Ja'far, he was joined by its inhabitants, as also by the people of Janad and of al-Ma'afir, and the army marched upon al-Mudhaykhirah.

Ibn Faḍl had left a son who was known by the name of *al-Ghūṭi*, by reason of a whiteness on the iris of his eyes. As'ad besieged al-Mudhaykhirah with his troops. He encamped upon Mount Thannān, which I have hereinbefore mentioned, when speaking of al-Ja'fari. It is now known by the name of Mountain of Khawlān, because it is inhabited by Arabs of that tribe, known under the name of Banu 'l-Bi'm (?). The army remained at this place, and whenever troops issued forth from the city, the Muslims defeated them. This occurred time after time, until the enemy was utterly disheartened and humbled. As'ad then erected mangonels, by means of which most of the houses in the city were destroyed, and he finally captured the place by force of arms. The son of 'Alī ibn Faḍl and as many of his followers, members of his family and persons who had embraced his sect, as As'ad could lay his hands upon, were put to death. His 150 daughters, three in number, were captured. As'ad selected one, named Mu'ādhah, and gave her to his nephew Kaḥṭān, unto whom she bore 'Abd Allāh, of

whom mention will be made hereafter.* Her two sisters fell to the lot of two chiefs. The siege of al-Mudhaykhirah by the Muslims endured for a whole year, and it is said that during all that time As'ad never put off his armour or divested himself of his sword. The rule of the Karmathians was extirpated from Mikhlāf Ja'far, and al-Mudhaykhirah has continued in ruins from that period unto the present.

As for Manṣūr, he continued in the condition above described, but (in contrast with Ibn Faḍl) he was an able ruler who took pleasure in the performance of good works, the record whereof endureth. He did not leave the district of Lā'ah, and he died before Ibn Faḍl, in the year 302, after bequeathing his authority to a son of the name of Ḥasan and to one of his followers, named 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbās ash-Shāwiry. Manṣūr placed special confidence in this man, and had sent him on a mission with letters and presents to the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah), to whom ash-Shāwiry became personally known, and whose esteem he also won. Manṣūr, on becoming sensible of his approaching death, sent for these two persons and said unto them : " I charge you both with the care of our dominion. Be careful to preserve it, and cease not to propagate the authority of 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymun. We are one of the trees his family hath planted, and but for our appeals to their rights and authority, our ends could not have been gained. It will be your duty to communicate, by means of letters, with our linām the Mahdy, and upon naught shall ye decide without consulting him. I have not gained the dominion we possess by means of great riches nor with the help of multitudes of men. I came to this country unwillingly,

* See Note 8.

and I have attained the results that are known unto you, under the good auspices of the Mahdy, of whose coming the glad tidings were given by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace." These words he often repeated before multitudes of people.

Upon the death of Mansūr, ash-Shāwiry, the executor of his will, wrote to the Mahdy, then residing at Mahdiyyah, informing him of the event and stating that the office of Dā'y remained in suspense, awaiting the Mahdy's commands. But he sent also assurances that he was prepared to exercise the office of Dā'y with loyalty and fidelity, apart from the sons of Mansūr. One of the latter was entrusted with the letter. He set forth upon his journey, and on arriving at al-Mahdiyyah he delivered the letter, with the contents of which he was unacquainted. The Mahdy knew ash-Shāwiry, who had aforesometimes come unto him with missives
151 from Mansūr. He knew him to be well qualified to fulfil the office of Dā'y, and he feared lest the sons of Mansūr should prove unequal to the task. The Mahdy replied consenting to the appointment of ash-Shāwiry alone, and the son of Mansūr returned to Yaman deceived in his expectations. But he concealed his disappointment and delivered the Mahdy's letter. He and his brethren continued on terms of friendly intercourse with ash-Shāwiry, who on his side showed them honour and respect. He did not preclude them from free access unto him. They entered his presence whensoever they pleased, without the interference of a chamberlain. At length, he who had been sent to the Mahdy came unto him, and seizing an opportunity when ash-Shāwiry was off his guard, he slew him. He made himself master of the country, and collecting the people from every district, he took them to wit-

ness that he abjured his father's sect, and that he joined that of the Sunnis. The people listened with approval, they rewarded him with their love and they submitted to his authority. One of his brethren, named Ja'far, came unto him. Ja'far condemned his brother's conduct and upbraided him, but his brother would not listen. Ja'far left him in anger and went unto the Mahdy at Kayrawān. He found that 'Obayd Allah was dead and that he had been succeeded by his son al-Ḳa'im (hi amr illah). These events, had occurred in the year 322. The son of Maṣṣūr remained with the new Khalifah.

Meanwhile his brother massacred the members of his father's sect, and drove them forth, until none remained around him but such whose religious tenets were held in secret. Only a small number continued to dwell in the country and they corresponded with the family of 'Obayd (Allah) son of Maymūn at Kayrawān. The son of Maṣṣūr then went forth from Maswar unto 'Ayn Muḥarram, which has been previously mentioned, and where there was a man of the family of al-'Arjā, sultāns of that country. The son of Maṣṣūr (before starting) appointed a deputy over Maswar, a man named Ibrahīm ibn 'Abd al-Majīd (al-Ḥamīd?) ash-Shīyā'y. He was ancestor of the Banu 'l-Muntāb, after whom Maswar has been named and is called al-Muntāb. When the son of Maṣṣūr reached 'Ayn Muḥarram, Ibn al-'Arjā suddenly attacked him and killed him. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, on hearing thereof [tarried at Maswar and proclaimed himself sovereign of the district]. The members and women of the family of Maṣṣūr who were with him, fled to Mount al-Ḥashab (Bani A'shab),* but they were attacked

* The tribe of A'shab son of Kulam dwelt, according to Hamdāni, in the mountains between the rivers Lā'ah and Surdud (p. 112, l. 19 sqq.).

152 by the people, who robbed, plundered and murdered them.

Ibn al-ʿArjā and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd arrived at an agreement, in accordance with which the country was divided between them. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd abjured the doctrines of Maṣṣūr. He built a mosque, in which he placed a pulpit, and the Khutbah was recited therein in the names of the ʿAbbasside Khalīfahs. He sought out the Karmathians wherever he could hear of them, until they were almost exterminated, and only a small remnant continued to subsist in the neighbourhood of Maswar, who held the doctrines of their sect in secret and who recognized as their chief a man known by the name of [Ibn at-Ṭufayl. He was slain by Ibrāhīm. But after the latter's death and during the reign of al-Muntāb son of Ibrāhīm, at-Ṭufayl was succeeded in the office of Dā'y by a person named] Ibn Raḥīm (Ibn Juṭam ?), a man of resolute character. His dwelling-place was kept secret lest al-Muntāb or other Sunnites should lay hands upon him, but he was in correspondence with the family of the Mahdy whilst they were at Kayrawān and afterwards in Egypt. It was in his days that al-Mu'izz son of (al-Maṣṣūr billah son of) al-Kā'im son of the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah) came to Egypt and built Cairo, which became his place of residence.¹⁴² When Ibn Juṭam felt the approach of death, he appointed over his sectaries a man named Yūsuf ibn al-Asad (?). Ibn Juṭam died when al-Ḥākim (grandson of al-Mu'izz) was on the throne at Cairo (A.H. 386—411).¹⁴³ Ibn al-Asad secretly laboured to spread al-Ḥākim's supremacy, and recognized it himself until he knew that his end was nigh, when he appointed as his successor a man named Suleymān (read ʿĀmir) ibn ʿAbd Allah ar-Rawāḥy, a native of the district of Shibām. He was a man of great wealth, of which he made use in

beguiling the people and in protecting his own followers from persecution. If any person meditated putting him to death, he would say: "I am a Muslim and I bear testimony that there is no God but God. How then can the spilling of my blood or the seizure of my property be lawful unto you?" Thereupon he would be left to go his way. On the approach of death, he appointed as his successor 'Alī son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite. The latter's family was originally from al-Aḥrāj (al-Aḥrūj),¹¹³ and he was a member of the community of Shī'ahs of Ḥarāz.

NOTES.

NOTE 1 to p. 1.—The *Dā'ys*, a word derived from a verb signifying to invite or summon, were missionaries employed by the Ismailites, to teach and propagate the doctrines of their sect. Their Chief, whose residence, under the Fatmite (or Ismaelite) Khalifas, was at Cairo, was styled the *Dā'y of Dā'ys*. The title was hardly inferior to that of *Kād'y of Kād'ys*, and both offices were frequently held by the same person. It has been suggested that the word is the origin of the designation *Dey*, applied by Europeans to the Viceroys of Algiers.

NOTE 2 to p. 2.—These words occur in five separate passages of the *Kur'ān*. That in Ch. xxxv. v. 19 is as follows:—

No burdened soul shall (on the day of resurrection) bear the load that belongeth unto another. And though one call upon another to assume its burden, that other shall not be laden therewith, even though the appeal proceed from its nearest kindred.

NOTE 3 to p. 3.—The Ash'arites were Kahtānites, descendants of 'Aṭīb. A noteworthy member of the tribe was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Al'y al-Ash'ari, originator of the religious sect known as the Ash'arites. The 'Akkites are likewise often described as Kahtānites, descendants of Mālik and Kahtān and of 'Udthān. But it is said that the last-mentioned name must be read 'Idnān, and that the 'Akkites are to be reckoned as an Ishmaelite tribe. They removed at an early date to the Tihānah of Yaman, where they entered into close alliance with the Ash'arites. The two tribes are stated to have been the first to apostatize in Yaman upon the death of the Prophet.

In all works on Arab history and on the geography of Arabia, continual reference is made to seemingly endless numbers of tribes, and more especially, is this so when the Yamanite provinces are in question. Readers unfamiliar with the subject, may find it useful to be supplied with its

general outlines, and I accordingly add to this note an enumeration of the principal tribes of Yaman. Carefully prepared tables have been constructed by F. Wüstenfeld, and they will be found of great service to anyone desirous of studying the Arab tribal system. For the following slight sketch, not having Wüstenfeld's book within easy reach, I have contented myself with following Ibn Khaldūn's chapters on the descent of the tribes, making, however, certain corrections and additions, chiefly derived from Hamdān's Description of Arabia, from Yāqūt's Geographical Dictionary, and, in a small number of instances, from one or two other works.

The subject, it must be remarked is beset with so many discrepancies and with such frequent disagreements, that it would be impossible to supply, within a moderate compass, anything approaching to an exhaustive account of the tribes and of their genealogies, as taught by the native traditionists. Many tribes, moreover, some of common, others of entirely distinct lineage, bear the same name, and their origin is not unfrequently matter of dispute. Al-Hamdānī, speaking of certain Arabs bearing the name of Ja'dah (p. 89-90), who, he says, claimed to be descendants of the Ishmaelite tribe of Ja'dah derived from Kays 'Aylān, makes the remark that it was a common practice for a tribe of desert Arabs to avail itself of such similarity of name, and to assert a claim to identity of lineage with that of a greater and more illustrious namesake. The thing, he continues, was of frequent occurrence and had often come under his personal observation.

The inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula are by common consent divided into two great Septs or Nations, one of which, the more ancient of the two, is generally known under the designation of the *Yamani* tribes, because for the most part they inhabited, and still inhabit, the southern provinces of Arabia. They claim to be the direct descendants of Kahtān, whom the Arabs identify with Joktan of the Jewish Scripture, the ancestor of Hazar-maveth (Hadramaut), Uzul, Shoba (Saba) and others. It is admitted that a more ancient tribal race at one time inhabited the Arab Peninsula, but one the greater part of which has long been extinct, whilst of the remainder it is only known that no traces of its posterity can be distinguished. The traditions respecting the aboriginal race, it is further allowed, rest upon no sure authority, with the

exception only of the few particulars preserved in the pages of the Kur'ān. It is universally held that these people were, like the Kahtānites, descendants of Shem the son of Noah, and it is generally believed that their language was Arabic, a fact positively stated in respect to some of the tribes.

The second great division consists of the race descended from Ishmael son of Abraham. The Ishmaelite Arabs are sometimes termed Nizārites or Ma'addites because they are descended from Nizār son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān. The precise links in the chain of descent from Ishmael to 'Adnān cannot be authoritatively stated, but the truth of that descent is absolutely unquestioned.

'Adnan is said to have been contemporary with the prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and with Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht Nassar). The latter, according to Arab tradition, by command of God invaded Northern and Central Arabia, and exterminated all but a small fraction of its inhabitants. Ma'add son of 'Adnān was at that time in his childhood. He was conveyed, for safety—miraculously, it is said—to the ancient town of Harrān in Mesopotamia. On his return he collected the remnant of his father's people, who had sought refuge with the Yamanites. The Ishmaelite Arabs, according to the commonly received version, are descendants of Ma'add, precisely as the Yamanite Arabs are held to be descendants of Kahtān.

The posterity of Ishmael divide themselves into three great stems. That of al-Ya's son of Muḍar son of Nizār, to which belonged, among others, the tribe of *Kuraysh*, whereof the Prophet was a member, that of *Kays 'Aylān*, brother of al-Ya's, and that of *Rabī'ah*, brother of Muḍar and son of Nizār.

The Yamanite tribes are in like manner divided into three great stems, all descended from Suba or 'Abd ash-Shams (servant of the Sun) son of Yashjub, son of Ya'rub son of Kahtān.

There are in the first place the *Himyarites*, composed of the descendants of al-'Arāujaj, better known under his surname of *Ilmiyar*, son of 'Abd ash-Shams. Among the principal Himyarite tribes and those whose names are most frequently met with in the histories of Yaman, were the *Banu Shar'ab*, the *Banu Sha'bān*, and numerous tribes descended from Zayd al-Jamhūr, such as the tribes of *Dhu Ru'ayn* or *Yarīm*, *Yāfi'*, *Wuhāzah*, *Dhu 'l-Kalā'*, *Harāz*, *Maytam*,

Sahūl, Auzā' and Dhu Ḥabāh. It will be noticed that many places in Yaman were named after the tribes by which they were inhabited.

The other two great Kahtanite stems consist of the descendants of **Mālik** and of **ʿArīb**, sons of Zayd son of Kahlān son of 'Abd ash-Shams.

Among the tribes of **Mālik**, the chief place may be assigned to that of *Hamdān*, descendant of al-Khiyār son of **Mālik**. The Banu Hamdān branch forth into an almost endless number of subdivisions, all connected together by common descent, and like other Arab sister-tribes, for the most part, though by no means always, in more or less close alliance with one another. Of the Hamdānite sub-tribes, it may be sufficient here to mention the names of *Hāshid* and *Bakīl* (seldom dissociated from one another) the *Banu Yām*, *Jusham* and *Shihāb*. Next in importance to the Banu Hamdān may be reckoned the *ʿAdīs*, a name borne by the most important section of the people who inhabited the country of Saba and its capital Ma'rib, at the time of the rupture of the dyke of 'Amru and of the ruin to which that portion of Yaman was in consequence reduced. All but a small section of the Azdites abandoned the country.* A portion proceeded to 'Omān. The chief body went to the Tihāmah of Yaman, inhabited by the tribes of 'Akk and Ash'ar. Here they settled in the neighbourhood of a Pool named *Ḥassān*, situated between the rivers Zabīd and Rinnā'. After a lengthened stay, dissensions with the original occupants of the country compelled the Azdites to depart. A portion of the tribe established itself in Najrān, in the neighbourhood of the Madhijites who had long occupied and ruled the country. Another section led by Hārithah son of 'Amru, attacked and overcame the Jurhumites at Mecca and became known as the *Khuzā'ah*, a designation given to them, it is said, because they "separated" themselves from their brethren led by Tha'labah son of 'Amru. The Azdite sub-tribes of Aus and Khazraj, so named after the two grandsons of Tha'labah, possessed themselves of Yathrib (the ancient name of Medinah). Their descendants were the first Arab community to embrace Islām, and their recognition of the Prophet, at a time when his pro-

* This occurred, according to Caussin de Perceval's conjecture, in A.D. 118.

spects seemed sunk into a depth of utter hopelessness, became the chief means that eventually brought about the triumph of his cause. He accepted the refuge they offered him and he bestowed upon them the title of *al-Anṣār*, the Defenders, whilst the small party that accompanied him on his flight from Mecca, received the designation *al-Muhajirūn*, the Emigrants or Refugees. The Ghassanite Azdites gradually travelled northwards and eventually reached Syria, where they founded the kingdom known as that of Ghassān, which endured under Roman supremacy, until the conquest of Syria by the Muslims. Other two tribes of the stem of Malik are the *Banu Khath'ām* and *Banu Baḥilah*, descended from al-Ghath, father of al-Azd. But according to some authorities these two tribes were Ma'adlites.

The third great stem of the Kahtūnite Arabs consists, as already mentioned, of the descendants of 'Arīb, brother of Malik. It subdivides itself into four branches, three of which, the *Banu Tayy*, *Banu Madhij* and *Banu Murrah*, comprise a large number of sub-tribes. The fourth is the tribe of *Ash'ar*, the associates of the Banu 'Akk in the Tihāmah of Yaman.

The *Banu Tayy* abandoned Yaman shortly after the dispersion of the Azdites, and settled for the most part in Northern Arabia, near the mountains of Ajā and Salma, whence they spread into 'Irāk and into the Syrian desert. Among the sub-tribes of the *Madhijites* are the *Banu Ju'fi*, *Zubayd*, *Hakam*, and *Suḥān*, derived from Sa'd al-'Ashirah son of Madhij, also the *Banu 'Aus*, *Banu Murād*, *Banu Jahl*, *Banu Hurab*, *Nakha'*, *Menabbih* or *Jamb*, and the *Banu 'l-Harith ibn Ka'b*, who conquered Najrān and dwell there for many centuries. According to some versions, the Banu Suḥān and Harith were included in the designation *Jamb*.

From the *Banu Murrah* were descended the *Banu Khaulān*, who are described as sons of 'Amru son of Mālik son of al-Hārith son of Murrah and their kinsmen the *Banu Jurrah* sons of Rakla son of 'Amru son of Mālik. Other authorities, however, pronounce the Banu Khaulān to be a sub-tribe of *Kudā'ah*, sons, that is to say, of 'Amru son of al-Hāf son of Kudā'ah. Al-Ḥamdāni, if the version given by Yāqūt (vol. iv. p. 137-38) can be trusted, admits two separate tribes of the same name, one of which he distinguishes under the name of Khaulān al-'Ahiyah, and the other

as Khaulān-Ḳudā'ah.* The tribes of Hamdān and of Khaulān were by far the largest and most powerful tribes in Yaman.

There were many other subdivisions of the branch of Murrah. Among these may be mentioned the tribe of *Ma'āfir* (son of Ya'fur—see Hamdāni, p. 67, 25, and Yāqūt iv. 570),† that of *Kindah* and its sub-tribes *Sakūn*, *Tujīb* and *Naksak*, also the *Banu Lakhm*, and *Banu Juḥām*.

There remains to be noticed the great Arab stem of *Ḳudā'ah*, respecting which the generally accepted opinion is that they are descendants of Mālik son of Ḥimyar. Some, however, contend that Ḳudā'ah was son of Ma'add and that his descendants are Ishmaelite Arabs, whilst on the other side it is held that he was only the adopted and step-son of Ma'add. According to another version, the Banu Ḳudā'ah were expelled from Najrān by the Banu 'I-Ḥarith ibn Ka'b the Azdites, and it is said that they went to the Ḥijāz and there became allied with the Ma'addites. The sub-tribes of Ḳudā'ah are very numerous. It may be sufficient to mention here the *Banu Kalb*, *Banu Tanūkh*, *Banu Jarm*, *Banu Nahd*, *Banu 'Udhrah* and *Banu Fihm*. I have already stated that the Banu Khaulān, according to some accounts, were a sub-tribe of Ḳudā'ah.

NOTE 1 to p. 4.—Most of what precedes is reproduced, almost verbatim, by Yāqūt in his article on Zabīd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his account of the descendants of Abu Ṭālib (vol. iv. p. 115), repeats what he tells us in his history of Yaman (*supra*, p. 141) touching the Khalifah al-Ma'mūn's motives for sending Muḥammad ibn Ziyād to that country. He was sent, he says, on a mission to suppress the rebellion of the Alides, who, under the leadership of Ibrahim al-Jazzar (the Butcher), threatened to detach the province from the rest of the Empire. And Ibn Ziyād, he continues, was chosen by al-Ma'mūn on account of the intense hatred he was known to entertain against the family of 'Alī.‡

* In Müller's edition the passage referred to occurs at p. 107. See also pp. 109 and 113. It will be observed that Yāqūt supplies us with a different reading.

† Ibn al-Athīr describes the Banu Ma'āfir as a Himyaritic tribe (vol. viii. p. 499).

‡ Another rebellion is stated to have occurred in Yaman in A.H. 207 (Tabari, iii. p. 1062), led by the Alide 'Abd ar-Raḥmān

Ibn Ziyād's descent seems to be traced through Ziyād's son 'Obayd Allah, the same who took a leading part in the slaughter of the Imām Husayn, grandson of the Prophet, a memorable event which Gibbon has made familiar to English readers. Ziyād himself, the ancestor of the founder of Zabīd, was regarded as son of Abu Sufyān, brother therefore of Mu'āwīyah the first Khalifah of the Omayyad dynasty. The circumstances of his birth were such, it is true, as to cast grave doubt upon his claims. He was therefore generally known by the surname Ibn Abihī, *the son of his father*. Mu'āwīyah eventually acknowledged him as his brother, far less, there is reason to suspect, out of conviction, than for the purpose of disarming an ambitious and dangerous subject. Ziyād owed, probably, much of his success and influence to his talent as an orator. It is related of him, that when a young man, barely over twenty years of age, he preached a *Khutbah* at Medinah, the eloquence of which filled his hearers with admiration. "How marvellous a talent hath God granted to that youth!" exclaimed 'Amr ibn al 'As. "Were his father of the tribe of Kuraysh, it were easy for him to drive the Arab nation before him with a switch!" "By Allah," answered Abu Sufyān, "I know who is his father." 'Aly, who was close at hand, turned round and stopped the discussion of so dangerous a topic: "Silence, Abu Sufyān, for thou well knowest, were 'Umar to hear thy language, its punishment would quickly follow!" Ziyād was born in the first year of the Hijrah and died in A.H. 53.

Suleymān ibn Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, from whom one

ibn Ahmad. It was suppressed, we are told, by Dmār ibn 'Abd Allah, sent for the purpose, at the head of a strong force, by al-Ma'mūn. The insurrection is said to have occurred in the country of the 'Akkites. There is some difficulty in reconciling the story with the statement that the district in question was, at that time, absolutely subject to Ibn Ziyād. But it may well be that the latter's rise in the Tihāmah of Yaman was far less rapid than is represented by 'Omārah. Al-Hamdānī, who died in A.H. 334, indeed tells us (p. 103) that, from the time of al-Mu'tasim (A.H. 218—227) to that of al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 256—279), a certain family of the Banu Shurāh (subdivision of the tribe of Dhu Ru'ayn the Himyarites) exercised sovereign rule over the Tihāmah of Yaman. Elsewhere (p. 120, l. 7) he says that the Banu Shurāh held paramount sway, at Zabīd, over all the neighbouring Arab tribes. See also p. 119, l. 23.

of the Zayādite's companions claimed to be descended, was, as is indicated by his name, son of the Omayyad Khalīfah Hishām. He was slain in A.H. 132, one of the many victims of the first Abbassid Khalīfah 'Abd Allah as-Saffāh, the *Blood-spiller*. Ibn Zayād's companion, it will be observed, is also designated the *Marrānīte*, after his ancestor the Khalīfah Marwān, father of 'Abd al-Malik.

The Banu Taghlib were a Mu'addite (Ishmaelite) tribe descended from Rabi'ah son of Nizār. The Taghlibite companion of Muḥammad ibn Zayād bore the same name as Muḥammad (al-Amin), son and successor of Harūn (ar-Rashīd). Al-Amin was deposed from the Khalīfate in favour of his brother 'Abd Allah al-Ma'mun, and in A.H. 198 he was captured and slain by Tahir ibn al-Husayn, the general in command of al-Ma'mun's troops. The new Khalīfah, it is said, never ceased secretly to lament the slaughter of his brother. On one occasion, at the sight of Tahir, he burst into tears, and when asked the cause of his grief, he replied that he wept at the remembrance of a thing, the mention of which was dishonour and its suppression mourning. The circumstance was reported to Tahir, who, greatly alarmed, solicited and obtained the government of Khurāsān, where he soon became practically independent, and founded the dynasty known as that of the Tahirites.

NOTE 5 to p. 4.—Al-Khaznaji, at this point of his history (p. 58), enters into certain particulars touching the town of Zabīd. The city, he says, is circular in form. It stands half-way between the mountains and the sea, at a distance of about half a day's journey from either. On the south flows the river Zabīd* and on the north the river Rima'. Elsewhere (p. 81), the same writer describes the walls of Zabīd, which he says were originally built by Husayn ibn Salimah, rebuilt by Mann Allah al-Fāṭiki, in A.H. 520 and odd years, again by the Banu Mahdy, and again, in A.H. 589, by Sayf al-Islām Tughtakīn the Ayyubite. It has, he says, four gates. One on the east called *Bāb ash-Shibārik*, leading to Shibārik, a village situated on the river Zabīd, and thence to the fortress of Kawārīr. One on the west, which in his day was called *Bāb an-Nakhl*, but which at an earlier period

* Al-Janadi tells us that the city of Zabīd was named after the river (fol. 29 obv.).

bore the name of *Bāb Ghulāṣīkah*. The road leads to Ghulāṣīkah and to al-Ahwāb. The former, he says, served at one time as the port of Zabīd, but it fell into decay and was superseded by al-Ahwāb, which was in his time known under the name of al-Buḡ'ah. The third gate, on the north, bore the name of *Bāb Sahām*. It led to Wādī Rima' and Wādī Sahām. The fourth gate, *Bāb al-Kurtub*, on the south, led to Wādī Zabīd and thence to the village of Kurtub, situated upon that river.*

Al-Khazraji next enters into lengthy details touching the extent of the walls, in which it is needless to follow him. In describing the city walls and bastions, he quotes the work of Ibn al-Mujāwir, written about A.H. 630, a book freely used by Spranger, in his valuable work upon Eastern Geography, under the title of *Tarīkh al-Mustawṣiriy*. It may be worth remarking that in the Leiden MS. of al-Khazraji, the word, excepting in one instance, is written *al-Mustawṣiriy*.

NOTE 6 to p. 1.—‘Omārah’s statements touching the foundation of al-Mudhaykhirah and on the derivation of the name *Mikhklāf Ja’far* are mentioned, but absolutely contradicted by al-Janādī. The city of Mudhaykhirah, situated on Mount Thaumān, was built, he says (fol. 182 rev.), by Ja’far ibn Ibrahim al-Manākhī. Elsewhere, in his chapter on the Abbasside governors of Yaman, he says (fol. 28 rev.), that the founder of the principality was Ibrahim ibn Abī Ja’far al-Manākhī, who conquered Mount Thaumān in the days of al-Ma’nūn. Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Hamūd, appointed Governor of Yaman in A.H. 213, marched against al-Manākhī in the following year but was defeated and killed. Janādī specifies the orthography of the name نومان, but adds that the form of the word is that of the dual of نوم.

Yāḳūt gives ‘Omārah’s description of Mudhaykhirah, as

* Johansen gives most of these particulars (pp. 120, 258, 261) as they are borrowed from al-Khazraji by Daybā’, but having misread اسفل for اسفل, a not inexcusable error in the absence of diacritical points, he has missed the sense of the writer’s words regarding the name Buḡ’ah. Khazraji writes : اسفل النذر الى قرية الاهواب و السدر اليوم تسمى البعة. It will be observed that there is room for doubt whether the name Buḡ’ah is meant to apply to Ghulāṣīkah or to al-Ahwāb.

also the greater part of the passage relating to Ibn Ziyād's freedman Ja'far, as is shown in the notes I have appended to the Arabic text. Yākūt begins by stating that Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Šabir, which I need hardly say is an error. (See *infra*, Note 11.)

Abu Ja'far al-Manākhi was descended, according to Janadi, from Dhū 'l-Muthlah (دو المله ; but cf. Hamdāni p. 100, l. 25 and 26), the Ḥimyarite, and from Dhū 'l-Manākhi. His posterity continued in existence down to the writer's days, and they were known as Sultāns of Qiyād (? قامى) Bayt 'Izz, Raym (Raymah ?) and Karīm 'Amīm. Ibrāhīm Abu Ja'far possessed himself of Mount Raymah as well as of Thaumān, and it acquired the name of Raymat al-Manākhi. He made himself master of the greater part of Mikhlaḥ Ja'far.

Some further particulars touching the petty dynasty of Manākhi, are supplied in the accounts preserved by al-Janadi and Khazraji, of the circumstances under which the Karmathian or Ismailite doctrines were established in Yaman. Mudhaykhirah, it will be seen, was conquered by Ibn Faḍl. Its ruler at that time, says al-Khazraji (who derives his information from the same source as al-Janadi), was Ja'far ibn Aḥmad (Ibrāhīm ?) al-Manākhi, after whom Mikhlaḥ Ja'far is named. Aly ibn Faḍl marched against him in A.H. 291, but was defeated and compelled to fall back upon the country of Yāfi'. Five months later, in A.H. 292, he again attacked the city and he succeeded in gaining possession, first of Mudhaykhirah and next of the fortress of Ta'kar. Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm (*sic*) fled to Tihāmah and reached al-Qurtub in the valley of the river Zubīd. He was assisted with troops by the Prince of Zabīd (Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk ?). With these he resumed the struggle. A celebrated battle was fought, says Khazraji, in Wādī Nakhlah, in which Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm (*sic*) and his nephew Abu 'l-Futūh were killed. Ja'far's rule, adds the same writer, endured from A.H. 249 to 292, forty-three years.*

* Hamdāni (p. 75, l. 9) says that "Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm al-Manākhi" was killed at or near the fortress of Khawālah, situated close to one of the sources of the Wādī Nakhlah.

Dr. Glaser visited the town of Menakha near Shilām-Ḥarāz, which I need hardly say is geographically quite distinct from Mikhlaḥ Ja'far, or the country of al-Manākhi, as it is sometimes called. I find no mention of Menakha in Hamdāni or other

Al-Mudhaykhirah, as will be seen, was re-captured from the Ismailites by As'ad ibn Ya'fur, in or shortly after A.H. 303. The city was destroyed, and Janadi adds that it continued in ruins down to his time. It will be noticed that Jabal Thaumān was, in the writer's days, known under the name of Mountain of Khaulān.

NOTE 7 to p. 5.—For *Diyār Kindah*, *Shihr* and *Mirbāt*, see *supra*, pp. 177, 180 and 182. See also de Goeje's ed. of Ibn Haukal, note to p. 32 (vol. iv. p. 432), whence it appears that a note appended to the Paris text in the sixth century of the Hijrah, describes Mirbāt as a seaport situated at a distance of one and a half days' journey from Zafār, whilst according to Yāqūt the distance is five parasangs. All these places are marked on modern maps.

NOTE 8 to p. 5.—We have seen that Ibn Ziyād was sent to Yaman as *Amīr*, a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, since it may be taken to signify a Prince, a Governor, or a military Commander. But it is tolerably clear that he was not intended to supersede the Governors of the province of Yaman, whose residence was at Ṣan'ā, and who continued to be appointed by the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn and his successors long after the foundation of the Zayānite Principality.

The family of the Banu Ya'fur, who eventually established themselves as a virtually independent dynasty at Ṣan'ā, was, according to our text, descended from the

native writers I have at my command, and the name in its application to the town in question, is perhaps of more modern date.

Al-Hamdāni mentions another place, *Manāhi*, written, according to Muller's edition, with the letter *ha* not *kha*. He describes it (pp. 82, 12; 110, 6, 8) as situated at the junction of the two main streams of the Wādī Khārid—one of which flows down from Ṣan'ā. The other has its chief sources in the neighbourhood of Shihām-Akyān and Hadūr Banu Azd. Its upper course bears, according to Dr. Glaser's map, the name of Wādī Khuzūmir and, lower down, that of Wādī Shuwābah (cf. Hamdāni, p. 82, l. 6, and p. 110, l. 6). Among its affluents is, as shown by Dr. Glaser, the small stream of Dhī Bin (or Dhū Bin), in Balad as-Ṣayad (Hamdāni, p. 82, l. 8, and 111, 25). The town of Dhū Bin, the burial-place of the Imām Ahmad ibn Husayn, is frequently mentioned in the histories of the Zaydite Imāms.

Tubbas or ancient Himyarite Kings, and Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter on the Rassite Sharifs of Sa'dah, likewise speaks of them as of the posterity of the Tubbas. Elsewhere, when describing the genealogies of the Yamanite princes and tribes (vol. ii. p. 213), he gives us the pedigree of the family of Ya'fur, from which, however, it seems difficult to trace their descent from the Tubbas, excepting inasmuch as they were of the posterity of Zur'ah (Himyar the younger), son of Saba the younger.

Among their ancestors were two who bore the name of Dhu Hawwāl,* whence probably the surname the Hawwālites, by which the family is frequently designated. Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, founder of the dynasty, is first heard of, according to Janādī, under the Governorship of Aytākh, who was appointed over Yaman by the Khalīfah al-Mu'tasim, according to at-Tabarī, in A.H. 225 (vol. iii. p. 1802). Al-Wāthiq (A.H. 227—232), replaced Aytākh by Ja'far ibn Dinār, who had formerly ruled over the country, but had been deposed in favour of Aytākh. The appointment of Ibn Dinār took place in A.H. 231, according to Ibn al-Athīr, and he tells us that the new Governor proceeded to Sa'u'a accompanied by a force of 1000 horse and 1000 foot soldiers. Janādī says that Ibn Dinār attacked Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, but that peace was eventually concluded between them. Al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded to the Khalīfate in A.H. 232, appointed Himyar ibn al-Hārith. The new Governor was unable to withstand the attacks of Ya'fur, and was at length compelled to return a fugitive to 'Irāq. Al-Mutawakkil's assassination occurred shortly afterwards (A.H. 247), and Ya'fur made himself master of Sa'u'a and of Janād, but not of Tihāmah, which since A.H. 204 was in the possession of the Banu Ziyād.

Ya'fur was succeeded by his son Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur. He recognized the supremacy of the Khalīfah al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 256—279), who in A.H. 259, formally invested him with the Government of Sa'u'a. Hudramaut and Janād were included in the dominions of Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur, but he owed allegiance to the Ziyādites and paid them tribute. He started on the pilgrimage in A.H. 262, after appointing his son Ibrāhīm to be his deputy. On his return he built,

* The name is pointed *Hīwāl* in Müller's edition of Hamdāni (see Note 11). Yāqūt, *حبيب* writes *Hawwāl*.

in 265, the mosque of Šanʿā according to the design which, al-Janadi says, it still retained in his own day. Muḥammad was assassinated by his son Ibrāhīm, and the latter, according to al-Janadi quoting Ibn al-Jauzi,* is said to have murdered not only his father, but also his uncle, his cousin and his father's mother.† This occurred, he adds, six months before the death of al-Muʿtamid, in Muḥarram, therefore, of A.H. 279. Ibrāhīm continued the alliance with the Ziyādite Princes, but his reign did not long endure, and he was succeeded by his son Asʿad, in whose days the Karmathians or Ismailites acquired dominion over the greater part of Yaman. Al-Janadi here proceeds with his account of their conquests and of the subjection of Asʿad to ʿAlī ibn al-Faḍl, which is included in this volume.

The statement that Muḥammad ibn Yaʿfur was assassinated by his son Ibrāhīm is not contained in Khazraji's version of the history of that period (fol. 29). His account, which at this particular point, differs materially from that supplied by al-Janadi, is to the following effect:—

Ibrāhīm, he says, continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom after his father's return from Mecca. A rebellion broke out at Šanʿā some time after A.H. 270, and the insurgents offered supreme authority to Jaʿfar ibn Aḥmad (ibn Ibrāhīm?) al-Manākhi. Eventually the entire family of the Banu Yaʿfur were driven out of the city, and Muḥammad ibn Yaʿfur was shortly afterwards killed at Shibām. He was succeeded, not by Ibrāhīm, but by a nephew, ʿAbd al-Kādir, son of Aḥmad ibn Yaʿfur, a circumstance that may perhaps be accounted for by the charge made against Ibrāhīm of being the assassin of his father. ʿAbd al-Kādir retained power for only a few days. A governor, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn Juʿfām, arrived from Baghdād in Šaʿbān 279, the next month after that in which, according to Janadi, Muḥammad lost his life. Juʿfām ruled until A.H. 282, when he returned to Irāk. Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿfur now attained absolute sovereignty, but his reign did

* The writer quoted by Janadi is perhaps the grandson of ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Jauzi, namely, Abū ʿI-Muzaḍḍar Yūsuf ibn Kizughli, generally known as Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi. He was author of a history, *Minūt az-Zamān*, which the author of the *Kashf az-Zunūn* says consisted of forty volumes. A small portion of the work exists in the Library of the British Museum.

† Janadi, fol. 29 rev.

not long endure. He died and was succeeded by his son As'ad.

In A.H. 288, Ṣan'ā was conquered by the Rāsīte Imām al-Hādī (see Ṭabari, iii. p. 220† and Ibn al-Athīr, vii. p. 352). He imprisoned the chief members of the family of Ya'fur, but they were released and escaped to Shibām,* where As'ad's authority over his followers was maintained until he was able to compel the Imām to abandon Ṣan'ā. The city was finally conquered by the Karmathians, in A.H. 299 according to both al-Janādī and al-Khazraǵi.‡

Upon the death of 'Aly ibn al-Fādl the Karmathian, in A.H. 303, As'ad speedily re-established his authority in Yamān, and it endured until his death in A.H. 332, the year in which al-Mas'ūdī commenced writing his *Golden Meadows*, in which he describes in glowing terms the wealth and power of the Himyarite Prince.‡

Ibn Khaldūn says (*supra*, p. 111) that As'ad was succeeded by a brother named Muḥammad, but after As'ad's death, the Banu Ya'fur never again recovered the brilliant position to which he had raised the family. The ensuing twelve years were occupied in the suppression of repeated attempts at rebellion, accompanied by incessant strife between the various members of the family.

In A.H. 315, the Rāsīte Imām of Sa'dah, al-Mukhtār, son of an-Nāsir Aḥmad son of al-Hādī, acquired possession of Ṣan'ā, but before the end of the year, he was assassinated by a powerful Hamdānite chief, known by the name of Dabḥāk.§ A freedman of the Banu Ya'fur, 'Aly ibn Wardān, supported by Dabḥāk, was recognized as Prince of Ṣan'ā. He was barely able to withstand the opposition of the Khawlanites, led by al-Asmar Yūsuf ibn Abi'l-Futūḥ,

* Shibām-Akyan? See Note 11.

† See Note 138. According to the *Hadū'ik*, al-Hādī acquired possession of Ṣan'ā in 297, and appointed his son over it as Governor. The Imām died, as will be seen (Note 127), in A.H. 298.

The particulars that follow hereabove are for the most part taken from Dayba' (seventh chapter), that is to say therefore, from Khazraǵi at second hand.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 55, of Barbier de Meynard's printed text and translation.

§ Al-Kāsim, surnamed al-Mukhtār, is mentioned by the Zaydite historians, but they do not reckon him among the Imāms, nor do they say that he was assassinated.

and he died in A.H. 350. He was succeeded by his brother Sapūr, with whom Dahhāk continued in alliance. In the following year they made an unsuccessful attack upon the Khaulāmites. They were put to flight, and whilst endeavouring to escape to Dhamūr, Sapūr was overtaken by al-Asmar and killed.

Dahhāk now tendered submission to the Prince of Zabīd, Abn 'l-Ḥasan (Abu 'l-Jaysh?) ibn Ziyād. Al-Asmar the Khaulāmite, on the other hand, offered the throne to the Amīr 'Abd Allāh ibn Kaḥṭān (grand-nephew of As'ad ibn Ya'fur), by whom the offer was accepted (A.H. 352). He entered San'ā, whence Dahhāk hurriedly fled. Next followed a series of struggles between the contending parties, in which a Rassite Imam, Yūsuf son of Yahya son of an-Nāṣir Aḥmad, took a prominent part, with the result of his being for a time recognized as sovereign Prince of the city and province.* 'Abd Allāh succeeded, however, in recovering his authority, and he enjoyed a long but disturbed reign. In A.H. 379 he was able to invade Tihāmah at the head of an army, with which he attacked and utterly defeated "Ibn Ziyād."† Zabīd was taken and sacked, and 'Abd Allāh, having abolished the Abbasside *Khalīfah* throughout his dominions, proclaimed the supremacy of the Egyptian Fatimites.‡ He died in A.H. 387 and was succeeded by his son As'ad. But the fortunes of the Banu Ya'fur, as one of the great ruling families of Yaman, were now at an end. The last vestige of their authority in the city of San'ā disappeared. Their condition became at best that of obscure and petty chiefs, and we are henceforward left in ignorance even of their names. We find mention of them, however, so late as A.H. 679, when we read in Khazraji's *Uḥūd* (fol. 115 obv.) as well as in Ibn Ilātim

* The name of the Imam Yūsuf son of Yahya is mentioned by the Zaydite writers, but I can find no account of his career. The author of the *Jawāhir* gives him the title of Dā'y, and simply says that he was contemporary with al-Mansūr al-Kāsim. The latter was surnamed al-'Ayāmī, after the name of the place in which he proclaimed himself in A.H. 389.

† Ḥusayn ibn Sulamah, we have been told, was regent from A.H. 372 to 402.

‡ The Fatimite Khalīfah al-'Azīz reigned from A.H. 365 to 386. It deserves perhaps to be here borne in mind that 'Abd Allāh was, through his mother, grandson of Ibn Faḍl the Karmathian. (*Supra*, p. 207.)

(fol. 105 obv.), that the Rasūlīto Sultān of Yaman regained possession of the fortress of Kawkabān from the Banu Hawwāl.

Ṣan'ā, until its conquest by 'Aly the Sulayhite, became the scene of perpetual strife, not only between the rival tribes of Hamdān and Khaulān, but also between various pretenders to the dignity of Imām. In 389, the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim son of 'Aly appeared from the country of the Banu Khath'am. With the assistance of the Hamdānites, he drove the Imām Yūsuf son of Yahya from Ṣādah and placed the city under the command of his son Ja'far. He next reached Raydah,* where he received the submission of Ja'far son of ad-Dahhāk and of the people of al-Baun. He thence despatched to Ṣan'ā a Zaydite Sharif, named al-Kāsim ibn Husayn, a descendant of the Imām Zayd son of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidīn, and the Zaydite sectaries readily submitted to his authority †.

As'ad son of 'Abd Allah the Ya'furite had established his residence at Kuḥlān, and he recognized the supremacy of the Imām al-Kāsim ‡. But ere long the Zaydite Sharif renounced his allegiance to al-Manṣūr al-Kāsim ibn 'Aly, and declared himself in favour of the authority of the Imām Yūsuf son of Yahya. The Imām al-Kāsim died in A.H. 393. Ṣan'ā became the scene of prolonged strife, a prey to contending factions of rival Imāms and Arab families, among which Hamdānites and Khaulānites played a prominent part, but none able to establish a settled or permanent government. In A.H. 401, Husayn son of al-Kāsim declared himself, as has been done by so many pretenders, both before and since his time, to be the *Muḥaly*, whose coming, according to an old tradition, was foretold by the Prophet. He obtained a large following among the Himyarites and Hamdānites, who abandoned the cause of the Zaydite Sharif. The latter was driven out of Ṣan'ā.

* Raydah was a town of considerable importance, in the district of al-Baun.

† I find no mention elsewhere of this "Zaydite Sharif."

‡ I have mentioned (*supra*, p. 171 footnote) that Dr. Glaser has Kuḥlān on his map, north-east of Haḡḡab, probably the old fortress of the Banu Ya'fur. Yāqūt says that the Yamanites pronounce the name Kuḥlān, but he calls the place a *Mikhlaḡ*. Hamdāni mentions it as the name of a totally different place, in the neighbourhood, it would appear, of Yarim or Dhu Ru'ayn. Kuḥlān, according to the Ḳamūs, was the name of an Arab tribe.

He was pursued, overtaken, and killed in A.H. 103. But in the following year, the Mahdy was himself expelled from the city, and lost his life near Dhu Bīn, in the course of an attack by the Hamdānites, from among whom a chief of the family of Dahhāk had been called to the throne by the citizens. The Mahdy had not yet attained the age of thirty years, and long afterwards his adherents, it is said, believed him to be living. In A.H. 413, the Sharif Ja'far, brother of Husayn the Mahdy, arrived from Sa'dah on the invitation of the Hamdānites and Himyarites, the former of whom, after the death of Husayn, exercised intermittent authority over Ṣan'ā. In 418, a new and unknown pretender appeared at Ma'rib, who proclaimed himself Imām, under the title of *al-Mu'īd li-dīn Allah* (He who brings the people back to the religion of God). He succeeded in making himself master of Ṣan'ā,* but was killed in 421, during which and the following year, severe famine prevailed throughout Yaman. In 422 the Imāmate was claimed by Abu Hāshim al-Ḥasan son of 'Abd ar-Rahmān, who was accompanied by his son Hamzah, from whom the Hamzite Sharifs derive their distinctive appellation†. He possessed himself of Ṣan'ā, from which Ibn Abi Hāshud escaped, whilst Mansūr ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ tendered his submission. Abu Hāshim's authority endured until A.H. 429, when he was driven forth by the Hamdānites. On their invitation, after an interval of two years, Ja'far son of al-Mansūr al-Ḥāsim re-established his rule over the city. The next seven years were occupied in conflicts, during the course of which Abu Hāshim, on the invitation of Ibn Abi Hāshud returned and recovered possession of Ṣan'ā for a brief period. Meanwhile a new pretender to the Imāmate, named Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Nāsir the Daylamite, had appeared. Aided by the Hamdānites, he captured and plundered Sa'dah, and next made himself master of Ṣan'ā.‡

* I can find no trace of this personage in the Zaydite historians.

† I do not find the date of Abu Hāshim's death. His son Hamzah was killed in A.H. 459 fighting the troops of 'Alī the Sulayhite.

‡ An-Nāsir Abu 'l-Faṭḥ the Daylamite was a descendant of Zayd son of Ḥasan (see the genealogical table added to Note 107). He arrived in Yaman, from Persia, between A.H. 430 and 440, and is said to have been killed by 'Alī the Sulayhite shortly after 440.

Ja'far son of Mansūr al-Ḥāsim is likewise stated to have made war upon the troops of aṣ-Ṣulayḥī (see *infra*, Note 29).

His supremacy was for a time recognized by Ja'far son of the Imām al-Kāsim, and he maintained his authority on a comparatively secure basis, until he was in his turn driven forth from the city by Ja'far and by Ibn Abi Hāshid the Khawlanite. Yahya ibn Abi Hāshid, to whom the writer gives the title of Sultān, died at the commencement of A.H. 410. His son was invited by the people to succeed him and received oaths of allegiance from the Hamdānites. Ṣan'ā was conquered (about A.H. 453) by 'Aly the Sulayhite, whose first manifestation in Yaman, adds the writer, dates from the night of Monday, third of the month of Jamādi 'l-Akhir of the year 439 (429?), the night of the conjunction of the planet Jupiter.

We have seen (*supra*, p. 41) that when al-Mukarram Ahmad son of 'Aly transferred the seat of the Sulayhite dominion to Dhu Jiblah in 480, he appointed over Ṣan'ā 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl the Yāmīte. Upon the death, in A.H. 492, of Saba ibn Ahmad, the city and adjoining country was formed into an independent Principality, under Sultān Ḥatim ibn al-Ghashīm, also a member of the tribe of Hamdān (see Note 42). He died in A.H. 502 and was succeeded by his two sons, by 'Abd Allah, who died of poison after a reign of two years, and then by Ma'n ibn Ḥatim, who was deposed in A.H. 510.

Another Hamdānite family reigned until A.H. 533, when Ḥamid ad-Daulah Ḥatim son of Ahmad son of 'Imrān son of al-Faḍl—grandson, therefore, of the governor appointed by al-Mukarram the Sulayhite—was invited by the tribe to assume the crown.*

He was attacked in A.H. 545 by the Zaydite Imām al-Mutawakkil Ahmad son of Sulaymān, against whom, however, he succeeded eventually in defending himself. Ḥatim died in A.H. 556, and was succeeded by his son 'Aly, surnamed al-Wahid. 'Aly took the leading part in an alliance, formed in the early part of A.H. 569, against 'Abd an-Naby son of 'Aly ibn Mahdy (see Note 101), and he was the reigning Prince of Ṣan'ā when, six months after his

* It will be seen that, according to the above, Ibn Khaldūn's statement (*supra*, p. 148), to the effect that 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl became independent at Ṣan'ā and transmitted the crown to his descendants, is erroneous.

The historian Ibn Ḥatim was a descendant of Ḥamid ad-Daulah.

campaign against the Mahdyites, Yaman was invaded and conquered by Turān Shah the Ayyūbite and brother of Saladin.

Muḥammad son of Aḥmad son of 'Imrān, mentioned at p. 60, must have been brother of Sultān Ḥamīd ad-Daulah Ḥātūm.

NOTE 9 to p. 6.—Wādī Bayḥān is marked on Walker's map of Arabia, south-west of Ma'rib and north-east of Dhamār, at about the same distance from either.

Nashwān ibn Sa'īd, who according to Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 173), was ruler or chief of Bayḥān, wrote the *Kaṣīdat al-Ḥimayrīyah*, published some five and twenty years ago at Vienna, by Baron von Kremer, with a translation into German.

A description of Najrān and Jurash, with a sketch of their early history, are given by Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 182).

NOTE 10 to p. 6.—There is evidently an omission here, as I have indicated in the translation.

As to the descriptions of Ṣan'ā, of al-Mudhaykhrah and of Shubām that follow, they are copied almost verbatim from Ibn Haukal.* The latter borrowed them from al-Isfakhri,† and transferred the passages to his own book, those especially relating to Ṣan'ā and to al-Mudhaykhrah, with such slight alteration, that it is only just possible to pronounce with some degree of certainty, that Ibn Haukal's Geography was the authority to which 'Omārah had recourse. The statement that Ṣan'ā stands on the equator is made by Ibn Haukal, but is not to be found in al-Isfakhri. Yākūt quotes the description of Ṣan'ā as given by our author, but the latter's name is printed 'Imrān ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan instead of 'Omārah.

The statement that follows in our text, to the effect that the mountain of Mudhaykhrah was twenty parasangs or sixty miles in height, appears in both Isfakhri and Ibn Haukal. I do not know how it can be explained. Even if we read circuit for height, it would be a manifest exaggeration.

* de Goeje's ed. p. 31.

† *Id.* p. 24. Isfakhri seems to have borrowed his account of the climate of Ṣan'ā from al-Ḥamdāni. See Müller's edition, p. 195, l. 24.

NOTE 11 to p. 6.—It must be through a corruption of the text that 'Omārah is made to speak of Ibn Faḍl as "Sheykh of Lā'ah," a designation which could only be properly given to his colleague and eventual rival Ibn Ḥaushab or Maṣnūr al-Yaman. I have omitted in my translation, the conjunction that appears in the MS., *هذه ولاه*, which reduces somewhat the difficulty of making sense of the passage. It seems to be intended to signify that the town of Aden-Lā'ah was in the neighbourhood of al-Mudhaykhirah. That this is incorrect is shown with sufficient clearness by 'Omārah himself, when he tells us that Mudhaykhirah stood in the province of Ja'far (see Note 6).

Yākūt has the following passage (vol. iii. p. 622) s.v. *Aden*: *والعمارة لاه مدينة في حل صر من أعمال صنعاء الى جانبها قرية* proceeding as in our text down to the words *بعد المصيرين* to which, however, he adds *بالمن*. Here we have probably the origin of the statement that al-Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Ṣābir, and indeed other quotations to be found in Yākūt, as well as the above, lead to the suspicion that his MS. of 'Omārah was by no means perfect.

Al-Muḥaddasi mentions al-Mudhaykhirah in his enumeration of towns in Yaman (p. 53 and p. 70), along with Janad, Dhawār, Yuhṣib (or Yahḍib), Khawlān, Ṣahūl, etc. Hamdān mentions the place only twice in his Geography, but he tells us (p. 68, l. 3 sqq.) that it was situated in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', along with ath-Thujjah (which, it may be inferred (p. 75, l. 23), stood at the foot of Ta'kar), and together with Ta'kar itself, Ṣahūl, Raymah, etc. At p. 100 (l. 10 sqq.) he tells us that al-Mudhaykhirah, Thammān (see *supra*, p. 207), the mountain of Ba'dān, also Raymah, etc., were in the district of Ṣahūl.

Ibn Khaldūn, as will be seen, distinctly says that Mudhaykhirah and 'Aden-Lā'ah were close to one another (*supra*, p. 173), misled probably by Yākūt or by Ibn Sa'īd, from whom, as I have already had occasion to say, he seems to have borrowed freely.

I may here add that Ibn Khaldūn commits a similar error when he speaks (*supra*, p. 168) of Aden-Abyan as a separate and distant place from the well-known seaport of Aden. They are in fact one and the same.*

The town of 'Aden-Lā'ah stood probably on or close to

* See, *inter alia*, al-Muḥaddasi, p. 85.

the banks of the Wādi Lā'ah, an important affluent of the Wādi Maur, one that retains its name to the present day. A similarity of name, taken by itself, must, it is true, count for little and may, indeed, at times be very misleading.* But other evidence is not wanting. Al-Hamdāni tell us, p. 69, l. 1) that Lā'ah was situated in the Sarāt or mountain-range of al Masāni'. At p. 112, he tells us that Lā'ah marked the beginning of the country of Ḥāshid, north-west of Ṣun'ā. Other passages from the same author are to the same effect (p. 106, l. 23; 113, l. 19; 193, l. 12). We are distinctly told, moreover (*supra*, pp. 194, 195, etc.), that 'Aden-Lā'ah was in the neighbourhood of Ḥajjah and of Jabal Maṣwar, both which will be found on Dr. Glaser's map. Al-Janādī tells us (fol. 6 obv.) that 'Aden-Lā'ah, "one of the towns of Ḥajjah in which Maṣūr al-Yaman proclaimed the 'Obaydite supremacy," had long been in ruins.

Al-Hamdāni mentions another important mountain in the Masāni' range, *Jabal Tukhla* (pp. 69 and 190 sqq.). In his detailed account of the mountain, of the roads that wind round it, its villages and strongholds, the productiveness of its soil, its healthy climate, its freedom from noxious animals and insects, our author writes in a glowing style, by no means usual with him.

Though not attaining the elevation of the highest summits of the Masāni', it overlooks, he tells us, a wide extent of country. On the south, Bura', Ḥarāz and other mountains are distinctly visible. On the west, the view extends from the centre of the country of the Ḥakamites to Mahjam, and the white stream of the Wādi Maur is seen glistening through the haze that rests upon the plains of Tibāmah. Further away is spread the sapphire-tinted sea, and, in the extreme distance, those endowed with superior powers of vision may distinguish the Farasān Islands. On the east the view is obstructed by the higher range of the Masāni'.

Jabal Bayt Fī'ish, he tells us, is the name of one of the highest summits of Mount Tukhla.

I feel somewhat at a loss to identify the mountain on the

* Reynaud, in his translation of Abu 'l-Fada's Geography, has thus been misled into correcting a supposed error of his author. He adds a footnote to his translation, in which he declares that Sharjah was not a seaport. It is true that Niebuhr mentions an inland village named Sharjah, south of Ḥays.

map published by Dr. Glaser in the "Mittheilungen," but he mentions its name, and says that it stands due west of Jabal Maswar.

'Omārah, still following Ibn Haukal and al-Iṣṭakhri, proceeds (*supra*, p. 7) with an account of Shihām. Besides one in Ḥaḍramaut, there were two places in Yaman of that name. One stood on the mountains of Ḥarāz, situated between Wādī Suhām and Wādī Sirdud (Ḥamdāni, p. 105). The other, which Ḥamdāni calls Shihām Aḳyān, stood close to Kawkabān, at the foot of the mountain of Dhukhār, whence the river Sirdud has its source (*ib.* p. 106-7). Both these places are marked upon Dr. Glaser's map.

The province of Aḳyān, according to Ḥamdāni, belonged to the Ḥawwālis or Banu Ya'fur. He adds that the country was the scene of the contests, whereby Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, in the days of al-Mu'tasim, of al-Wāthik, and of al-Mutawakkil, raised himself to power.

Yākut, in his *Mushtarak*, mentions still another place named Shihām, three parasangs north-east of Ṣun'a, but this, I think, requires confirmation.

Shihām in Ḥaḍramaut was, says Ḥamdāni, the chief city of the province. It had thirty mosques, but half the town was in his day in ruins. Its original name, he adds, was Shihāt (pp. 86, l. 25; 87, l. 25).

NOTE 12 to p. 8.—The "statement of revenue" and the particulars that follow are simply borrowed, with some slight exaggeration, from Ibn Haukal (De Goeje's ed. p. 20), and the same remark applies to the information supplied (*supra*, pp. 5 and 7) respecting As'ad ibn Ya'fur and Ibn Ṭart. In Ibn Haukal, the distance from Sharjah to Aden is stated at twelve, instead of at twenty days' journey.

The 'Aththariyah dmār, according to al-Muḳaddasi (p. 99), was two-thirds of a mithqāl, the standard or original weight of a dmār. It would therefore be equal to about seven shillings in gold of modern money. See also Professor de Goeje's glossary to Ibn Haukal and al-Muḳaddasi, p. 296.

Ibn Haukal calls the Prince of Ḥali *al-Khazāmi*, but Müller's edition of al-Ḥamdāni (p. 120, l. 12, and 14) gives the reading *al-Ḥirāmi*.

NOTE 13 to p. 9.—According to Khazraji (p. 78), Muḥammad ibn Ziyād died in A.H. 245. His son Ibrāhīm, he con-

tinuous, died in A.H. 289, after a reign of thirty-eight years (*sic*). Next to Ibrāhīm followed Ziyād son of Ibrāhīm, who did not long reign and the date of whose death the writer is unable to give. Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk succeeded his brother Ziyād, and is said to have reigned eighty years. He is stated by Khazraji to have died in A.H. 391, for which we must read 371, as in our text and in Janadi. This would place his accession in A.H. 291, and would give a duration of two years to the reign of his brother and predecessor Ziyād. The latter may have been the prince who is reported to have been killed when Zabīd was captured and looted by the Karmathians under 'Alī ibn Fadl (*supra*, p. 200); but as the capture of Zabīd must have occurred after A.H. 292, when Ibn Fadl conquered Muthaykharah, it may with at least equal plausibility be conjectured that it was really Abu 'l-Jaysh who was attacked, and that he did not lose his life. But how, on the other hand, are we to believe that Abu 'l-Jaysh, at the end of a reign of eighty years, left an infant son to succeed him? (See Note 98.)

Al-Mas'ūdī says (vol. iii. p. 35) that in his day (A.H. 332 or shortly after) the Prince of Zabīd was Ibrāhīm ibn Ziyād, which adds to our difficulties. The Prince, he further tells us, bore the surname *Shāhib al-Harmali*, which I have nowhere else met with.

A valuable date is supplied by a *dīnār*, published by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society* (1887, part iv.). The coin purports to have been struck by Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishāk, at Zabīd, in A.H. 346, and it bears the name of the 'Abbasside Khalifah al-Mu'ti' (A.H. 331-363).

Of the last princes of the dynasty we are told next to nothing, and even their names are doubtful. That of the infant successor of Abu 'l-Jaysh was, according to our text, either 'Abd Allāh, or Ziyād. According to al-Janadi and Khazraji, it was 'Abd Allāh, or Ziyād, or Ibrāhīm. After the death, in A.H. 402, of Husayn ibn Salāmah, who we are told, ruled the country as Wazir for about thirty years, we find another child on the throne, the last of his race, to whom al-Janadi gives the name 'Abd Allāh. In our text he is called 'Abd Allāh at p. 13 and Ibrāhīm at p. 15. He was assassinated in A.H. 409.

Al-Janadi (fol. 184 rev.) says it may clearly be shown, that the Banu Ziyād held supreme rule for one hundred and sixty-eight years, from A.H. 203 to 371. From that date until the death of the last prince in 409, they reigned, he

continues, as titular sovereigns, for thirty-eight years. Next followed a struggle between Najāh and Anīs, which endured for three years, until 412, when Najāh became supreme ruler. He and his descendants and their wazīrs, adds al-Janadi, ruled for 145 years, including the three years of war between Najāh and Anīs, that is to say, from 409 to 554, when Zabīd was captured by Ibn Mahdy.

The original passage of which the above is the substance, will be found in Note 98. In the MSS. both of al-Janadi and Khazraji, the year 407 is given as the date at which the Ziyādite dynasty came to an end, and so it is also to be found in Daybā' and in al-Ahdal. Al-Janadi's own words, however, show conclusively that A.H. 409, as in our text, is the correct date.* It must be remarked that 'Omāruh tells us Zabīd was founded in A.H. 204, the year in which the Imām ash-Shāfi' died. Al-Janadi (fol. 29 obv.) gives the same date for the conquest of Tihāmah and for the foundation of the city, stating, however, likewise, that Ibn Ziyād arrived in A.H. 203.

The freedman of Abu 'l-Jaysh, Rushīd, the master of Hunsayn ibn Salāmah, is also so styled by al-Janadi and by Ibn Khallikān. Al-Khazraji and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Rashīd.

The assassin of the last Prince of the Ziyādite dynasty is called in our text Nafīs, نفيس, and so also in Khazraji. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Nays, نيس; Al-Janadi that of Anīs, انيس. He specifies the orthography and vocalization of the name and elsewhere returns to the point (see Note 65). He is followed by al-Ahdal (p. 261 obv.), but the latter adds that other writers call him Nafīs.

NOTE 14 to p. 10.—Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, of the tribe of Khazraj, was sent to Yaman by the Prophet, and remained there until the latter's death. He himself died at 'Amwas (Emmaus) in A.H. 18. His life is given by Ibn al-Athīr in his biographies of the Sahābis, the *Uṣṣ al-Ghābah*, "the Lions of the Jungle" (Bul. ed. vol. iv. p. 377). It contains the following passage, which tends to bear out a suggestion I have elsewhere had occasion to offer (Journal of the

* All Arabic students are aware how easily the words signifying *even* and *none* may be mistaken for one another, and how frequently the mistake occurs.

R. A. S. vol. xiv. p. 240), that the word *al-Kayyūm*, in the *Ayat al-Kursy*, ought in accordance with the definition of the commentators, to be rendered *the Watchful*, or the *Vigilant*.

كان معاد اذا نحمد من الدل قال اللهم نامت العيون و عارت النجوم و انت حي
موم اللهم طلى بنيه بطىء و هربى من النار ضعف اللهم احمل لى عندك هدى
ترده الى يوم الصامه انك لا تخلف الميعد .

When Muṣṭallā devoted a night to watchfulness and prayer, he was in the habit of using the following words :-

"O God, the eyes of men are closed in sleep, the stars are sinking into the mighty deep, whilst Thou, the Living, Thy never-ending watch dost keep. O God, my yearnings for heaven have been tardy, my strivings to escape the fires of hell have been weak. O God, grant unto me true guidance, in Thy keeping, which Thou wilt restore to me on the day of resurrection. And verily, thou wilt not fail in Thy promises."

NOTE 15 to p. 11.—*Sharjah* and *Alththar* were two important seaports on the coast of Northern Yaman. I am not able to identify their precise position, but careful comparison of the information supplied by various writers renders it possible to determine their sites approximatively, pending the time when further inquiry, or perhaps investigation on the spot, may enable the point to be settled with absolute precision.

Ibn Buṭṭāh landed at *Sharjah* on his way down the Red Sea, in the fourteenth century. He describes it as a place occupied by merchants of Sa'dah. Then he sailed to the New Haven,* where, however, he did not land, and then on to al-Ahwāh.

Al-Hamdānī, in describing the coast of Yaman, proceeding from south to north (p. 52), next after *Kamarān* men-

* The *New Haven*, Marsa 'l-Hāḍith, is doubtless either Luḥayy or Hudaydah. The earliest mention I have met with of the former is in Dayḥ's account of the invasion and conquest of Yaman by the forces of the Egyptian Sultān al-Ḡhūrī. The army, composed of Circassians, Kurds and other Asiatics, landed in the Island of *Kamarān* in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah a.n. 921 (December, 1515). Their first operations were directed against the seaport town of Jadidah (Hudaydah?), which was looted and destroyed. The Governor of Luḥayy tendered his submission and actively assisted the invading army in its advance into the interior. Zabīd was taken in Jamād Awwal, 922. The conquest of the country was completed in Rabi' Awwal

tions 'Uṭaynah. At p. 120, l. 1, we read 'Iṭnah instead of the diminutive form 'Uṭaynah, and the author says that it and al-Ḩirdah are the ports of al-Mahjam. Al-Mukaddasi (p. 53) writes 'Iṭnah.

Next to 'Uṭaynah, Hamdāni mentions Ḩirdah, then Munfahik Jābir, a dangerous headland, where (violent) winds are frequent. Its limits extend to Sharjah, the seaport of the country of the Banu Ḥakam. Next *Bāḥat Jāzān* and on to 'Aththar. At the headland of 'Aththar the sea, he says, is remarkable for its heavy waves. See also p. 188, where, as well as at p. 120, the author mentions Wādī Ḩarāḍ among other places in the country of the Ḥakamites.

Al-Aḥdāl (fol. 5 obv.) says that Sharjah is the port of Ḩarāḍ, *Sāhil Ḩarāḍ*, and Khazraji gives it the name of *Sharjah Ḩarāḍ*, which practically conveys the same meaning.

Ibn Ḥātim tells us (fol. 2 obv., see Note 101), that Ḩarāḍ was also called *Mahall Abi Turāb*. I find "Harraḍ" marked upon Walker's and other modern maps of Arabia. Its situation corresponds with the indications given by the Arab writers, and I think we may conclude that the port of Sharjah stood at or not far from the spot, which on the Admiralty chart bears the name of Ras Musahib, about thirty-three miles north of Luhayy, or it may be somewhat farther south. It is hardly necessary to say that the village of the name of Sharjah, marked on Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south of Zabīd, is an entirely different place. I have met with no mention of it in any of the Arab writers I have had occasion to consult.

of the following year, when the last Sultān of Yaman, defeated and flying before the invader, was killed near Ṣan'ā.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that whilst an Egyptian army was occupied in subjugating Yaman, the Turks under Sultān Selim were engaged in the conquest of Egypt, and Tunān-Bay, the last Mamluk Sultān, was hanged by order of Selim at Cairo, a few days before the Sultān of Yaman was killed.

The Egyptian army in Yaman comprised, according to Daybā', a formidable body of 1000 men armed with matchlocks, lent to al-Ghūrī by Sultān Selim. These, however, had been supplied, not for purposes of conquest, but to assist the Egyptians in resisting the Franks, who had made their appearance in the southern seas, and were intercepting the road to India.

As to *‘Aththar*, according to Hamdāni as quoted above, it stood north of *Bahāt Jāzān*, which may be presumed to be the same as Gīzan of the Admiralty chart. At p. 51 he calls the place *‘Athr*, but the Arabs, he continues, generally pronounce the name *‘Aththar*. It is, he says, the port of *Baysh* (the same perhaps as Bish of modern maps). *‘Iwad*, he adds, is a village in the plains of *‘Aththar*, both which places, he continues, are well-known haunts of lions. (See also p. 127, l. 16.) “*Etwid*” is mentioned on the Admiralty chart. Al-Ahdal (fol. 5 obv.) says that *‘Athr (sic)* was a village situated between Hali and Haraj, and, he adds, has long been in ruins. Opposite it, he continues, is an island that bears its name. Mukaddasi, who I need hardly remind the reader writes at a very much earlier date, calls *‘Aththar (sic)* a large and well-known city. At *Baysh*, where the Sultān or chief resides, the air, he says, is healthier and the water purer.

The only map upon which I have found *‘Aththar* to be marked, is a Spanish sixteenth century map of the world, of which a copy exists in the India Office library.

NOTE 16 to p. 12.—Of the numerous other places described as standing on the pilgrim roads from Yaman, besides those referred to in the preceding notes, there are several which I am not able to identify.

Dhāt al-Khayf stands in Khazraji (fol. 60) *Dhāt al-Hubayt* or *al-Khubayt*. *Marza’* must surely be the “emporium” marked on Ptolemy’s map, but it is somewhat puzzling to find it described by our author as an inland town. Ibn al-Mujāwir, however, mentions it (*apud* Sprenger, p. 149) as a seaport south of As-Suhāri, al-Khaubah and Maushij (travelling from north to south). Al-Hamdāni mentions the town, but is not clear as to its precise position. *Al-Jalūn* is written in Khazraji al-Hadūn. *Ad-Dijā* is somewhat vaguely described by Yākūt as a town near Zabīd. Both *al-Jalthah* and *‘Irq an-Nasham* are omitted by Khazraji, but *al-Jalthah* الجالط is mentioned in the Marāsīd as a village in Yaman. *Al-Wadiyāni* is mentioned by Yākūt as an important town in the province of Zabīd, from which a large revenue is collected; but it will be observed that ‘Omārah invariably speaks of it as north of Mahjan and Maur. *Jizān* might be taken to be the same as Gīzan or *Bahāt Jāzān* mentioned in the preceding note, but it is

not given as a seaport, which the latter is. In Khazraji the name is written *Hayrān*, and *Jizān* may perhaps be better identified with *Hayān*, which is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 120) along with *Wādī Tashar*, as a town in the country of the Banu Ḥakam. *Al-Musā'id* is called by Khazraji *as-Sū'id*, and the name is so written in al-Hamdāni (p. 119, l. 26). *Al-Mahni* and *Riyāh* (?) are given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with any mention of them. Instead of *al-Lith*, Khazraji has *al-Habt* (Khabt?), but *al-Lith* is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah (p. 148) and by Hamdāni (p. 120, l. 16). *Al-Bayḍā* and *Wādī Rukmah* (?) by the same writer in the next line. Khazraji writes *Bir al-Bayḍā* instead of *al-Bayḍā*, but Ibn al-Mujāwir, according to Sprenger, gives it the same name as in our MS. Khazraji has *Bir Adām* instead of *Birād*. We may perhaps read *lydam*, the name given by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 131.) The names of the first stations travelling southward from Mecca, as given by him, are as follows:—

From Mecca to *al-Karīn*, then to *al-Bayḍā*, then to *Adām*. Next to *Wādī Muḥram* (Yalamlam ?) where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the *Ihrām*.

Sabakhat al-Ghurāb is so given by Khazraji. Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 150) mentions a place *al-Bayḍā* in the desert or *Ki'* of *Sabakhat al-Ghurāb*, near Aden, which I do not know how to account for. *Al-Karīn* is mentioned by al-Mukaddasī, as standing between Mecca and Juddah; *Na'mān*, or *Na'man al-Lāḥ*, is described by Yāqūt and is also mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 125).

The following is Khazraji's version of the road between Yalamlam and Mecca:—

Then the traveller reach *Yalamlam*, the *Mikāt* of the people of Yaman (the place where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the garb and commence the ceremonies attendant upon the performance of pilgrimage). Yalamlam has a well, constructed by Ibn Salāmah. Next is *Bir* (the well of) *Adām*, which yields an abundant supply of drinking water. It is ten fathoms in length (depth) and it is five fathoms in width. Then the roads diverge. He whose destination is Mecca reaches *Bir al-Bayḍā*, a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah, next *al-Karīn* and then Mecca.

Of the places on the maritime road, *al-Makhsuk* is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 188, l. 14). *Althar* (?), on the southern coast, I was once inclined to think might be the same as 'Abrah of Hamdāni (p. 188, l. 15); but although omitted in

the MS. of Khazraji, it is given by Dayba', and it is moreover mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 150), as distant three parasangs from 'Ārah. Next to *Bāb al-Mandab* our MS. has as-Suhāri. Hamdāni writes Ṣuhāri, Ibn al-Majāwir (*apud* Sprenger, p. 149) gives the name as in our text, but he places Suhāri north of Khaubah; and it is so marked on the Admiralty chart. *Al-Ḥirdah* and *Ṭnah*, as stated in the preceding note, are mentioned by Hamdāni as the ports of *al-Mahjam*. For *al-Mufajjar* we may perhaps read *Hajar* (Hamdani, p. 188, Sprenger, 188). *Duraymah* and *Hamidah* are referred to by al-Mukaddasi (p. 69 and footnote), and the last-mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 52, l. 14 and 120, l. 16).

Hamdāni says (p. 51, 13) that Hamidah stood near a mountain which he calls *Kudummul*. The name *Kotumbl* appears on the Admiralty chart, but is given to a small island near the coast. See Muller's Notes, p. 33.

NOTE 17 to p. 12.—Niebuhr heard a precisely similar anecdote (vol. i. p. 302), with the addition that in order to prevent a repetition of so troublesome a miracle, the donor of the money ordered the tomb of the royal saint, who takes the part of the Prophet in the modern version of the story, to be securely walled up.

NOTE 18 to p. 15.—Makrizi, in his *Khitat* (vol. i. p. 448) gives the following description of the Imperial umbrella, which was borne on state occasions over the head of the Khalifah:—

The umbrella was composed of twelve segments, each three and a third cubits in length and one span (cubit?) in width at the lower end.* The upper extremities were extremely narrow. They were joined together and fitted round the end of the stem. This was a lance-shaft made of ash and enclosed in tubes of gold. The uppermost tube, which was close to the head of the shaft, was provided with a ledge forming part of itself and projecting to the extent of a thumb's width. The extremities of the segments were made fast to a golden ring, which was loosely fitted on to the head of the shaft, the latter being here reduced in thickness. The ring, coming in contact with the ledge, was supported and prevented

* Makrizi has previously mentioned that the umbrella, as well as the Khalifah's robes, was white, the Fatimite colour. The colour of the 'Abbasides, it will be remembered was black, to this day that of the covering over the Ka'bah at Mecca.

from slipping down the shaft. The umbrella had square ribs made of *Khalanj* wood, equal in number to the segments and of the same length. They were light in weight and coated with gold. They were fitted with small hooks and there were rings to correspond, the hooks and rings fastening into one another. The umbrella could be closed and opened after the manner of the folding segments of a leathern purse (?). The stem was surmounted by a ball the shape of a pomegranate, above which was another similar ball of a smaller size. Both were of gold, studded with jewels, conspicuous (by their brilliancy) to the spectator. The umbrella had a valance, which encircled the opening and was of corresponding material. The valance exceeded a span and a half in depth. Below the pomegranate-shaped ball, there was a space of about three finger-breadths. Upon the ring, to which the extremities of the segments were attached, being placed on the end of the shaft, the ball was fitted over it. It was wrapped in a piece of *Dabikite* cloth of gold,* which was removed by the bearer upon the umbrella being delivered to him.

NOTE 19 to p. 16.—Al-Janadi states (fol. 132 obv.), that when the Karmathian dominion came to an end (A.H. 304), Yaman became subject to three families or dynasties, between whom the whole country was divided. The Banu Ziyād ruled over Zabīd (Ṭihāmah) and Aden. Ṣa'dah and the country on the north were in the possession of the Zaydite Imāms. Janad as well as the city and province of Ṣan'ā was held by the Banu Ya'fur.

As'ad ibn Ya'fur appointed the Ḥimyarite family, the Banu Kurandi, to be governors of the province of Janad. When, upon the death of Ibn Salūmah in A.H. 402, the governors appointed by the Banu Ziyād usurped absolute power over their provinces, the Banu Kurandi likewise declared their independence. They were deprived of their kingdom by 'Alī the Ṣulayḥite, and the deposed prince, as will be seen, was one of the chiefs who accompanied aṣ-Ṣulayḥi to al-Mahjam, and one of the few whose life was spared by Sa'īd son of Najāḥ. Some of these fortresses, as is stated by Ibn Khaldūn, were restored to the Banu Kurandi by al-Mukarram Aḥmad son of 'Alī, and of these they continued in possession until they were deprived of their principality by Ibn Maḥdy. Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y appears to have been the chief of the family at the time of its restoration. The part he took in the

* Dabik was a small Egyptian town near Tinnis, on an island in Lake Menzalah.

scheme to which Sa'ūd son of Najāh fell a victim, is related further on, and it may be noticed that he is there styled Prince of Sha'ir.

Al-Hamdāni says (p. 54, l. 21) that the family of Kurandi belonged to the Banu Thumamah, descendants of Himyar al-Asghar (ancestor of the Banu Ya'fur and Banu Auzā').

The following is al-Khazraji's enumeration of the petty dynasties that sprang up in Yaman upon the death of Ibn Salāmah in A.H. 402, and of the territories and fortresses which they appropriated (fol. 83):—

The governors of the mountain districts and fortresses took possession of that with which they were entrusted. Among others, the Hamdanites seized upon Ṣan'ā, as already mentioned.

The Banu Ma'n took possession of Aden, of Lahj, of Abyan, of Shihir and of Hadramaut. They are not descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah the Shaybānīte. The Banu Kurandi, a family descended from Himyar, possessed themselves of Samādān, an exceedingly important fortress, of the strongholds of Sawā, of Dunilūwah, of Ṣabir, of Dhakhir and of Ta'kar, a fortress which commands Janad.* They made themselves masters of (large portions of) the provinces of Ja'far, of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'āfir. 'Omārah says of the Banu Kurandi that they held brilliant sway over their possessions, and were a conquering race of kings. Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y took possession of the fortress of Ḥabb, which resembles in strength at-Ta'kar, also of Arzān, of Khadid, of Bayt 'Izz, of the fortresses of Sha'ir, of Abwar (Anwar), of Nakil, of Saḥūl and of Shawāfi.

The Banu Wā'il ibn 'Isa seized upon Wuḥāzah and upon its strongholds, Yaris, Zahrān, al-Khaḍrā, Sa'ab and Yafūz. The Banu Wā'il are descended from Dhu'l-Kalā'. They are an ancient race of rulers, but they are a silly folk, who fancy themselves to be absolutely the noblest of mankind. Among others of the family, was As'ad ibn Wā'il, noted for his generous qualities and for the praise of which he was the theme. He was a pious man, and upheld the orthodox sect of the Sunnis, above all others. He sought the companionship of Qur'ān readers and of worshippers, he held in high honour the practice of frequenting the

* The name of this fortress, and of that of the same name at Aden, is thus given in the *Ḳamūs*, *Ta'kar*, and it would appear to have been generally so pronounced. But in Müller's *Hamdāni*, it is for the most part written *Ta'kur*, which, or its alternative *Ta'kir*, is perhaps the more correct orthography.

Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 191 rev.) that the castle of Ta'kar above Dhu Jiblah was demolished in A.H. 594 by the Ayyubite Sulṭān al-Mu'izz Isma'il.

mosques. He venerated the early Companions of the Prophet and followed the good examples of those who protected their names from insult. He was free from all taint of new doctrines. He was slain (and died a martyr) in the year 515, and was buried in the mosque of al-Ja'ami (al-Ju'fi?).

I omit the words that follow, evidently an imperfect rendering of the passage in 'Omārah, wherein he speaks of the fortresses and territories taken by a family of the tribe of Bakil and by that of 'Abd al-Wāhid.

و تغلب عليه ولاء الجبال و اهل الحصون على ما عت ابيدهم من ذلك تغلبت
همدان على صنعاء كما ذكرنا اولاً و تغلب بنو معن على عدن و لحج و ابين و الشعر
و حصر موت و لسوا من ولد معن بن زائده الشباني و تغلب بنو الكردي و هم
قوم من حمير* على السدآن و هو حصن عظيم الحطرو على حصن السوا و على
حصن الدملوة و حصن صرو و حصن دجر و على حصن العكر و هو الحاكم على
الجند و مخالف جعفر و مخالف عمه و مخالف المعامر مال عارة و لبني الكرندي
سلطه طاهرة و دوله قاهرة و تغلب ابو عبد الله الحسن بن السعي على حصن حب
و هو نظير العكر و على عزان و خدد و ببت عز و حصن الشعر و حصن ابور†
و الثقيل و السحول و النواهي و تغلب ابو وائل بن عسي على واطة و حصونها
برس و زهران و الحصر و سع و بعر و ابو وائل هولاً من ذي الكلاع و لهم
منازل‡ و منهم حاقه يرون انهم اشرف بني ادم على الاطلاق و من بني وائل
هولاً اسعد بن وائل صاحب الكرم العرص و النبا المستفيض كان رجلاً صالحاً يؤثر
مذهب السنة على غيره و يحب القرا و العباد و يؤثر عمارة المسجد و يعظم
السلف و يقدي باجارهم و كان سلجاً من الدعه و توفي مقتولاً § سنة خمس
عشرة و خمسمائة و قبره في جامع الجعافي .

Al-Khazraji has borrowed these particulars from al-Janadi, but in the Paris MS. of the latter (p. 183 obv.), the sense is partially obscured by what seems to be a copyist's error, the omission probably of one, or it may be, of two lines. I have therefore preferred Khazraji's version.

* وهم اهل المعامر و حصونهم كالسوا و السدآن و الدملوة و صرو و دحر J. .
† ثم تغلبوا على حصن العكر و هو الحاكم على الجند و كثير من مخالف جعفر .
‡ شهيداً J. . † رئاسة مناتلة , 'Omārah , † انور J. .

NOTE 20 to p. 16.—Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, of the Ishmaelite tribe of Shaybān and of the great Sept of Rabī'ah, was appointed governor of Yaman by the Abbāsīd Khalīfah al-Munṣūr 'Abd Allāh. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. iii. p. 598), and from al-Janādī (fol. 27 obv) it appears that he was Governor of Yaman from A.H. 145 to 151. It will be seen that the claim of the Banu Ma'n of Aden to be descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and distinctly contradicted by al-Khazraǵī (see the preceding note), as well as by 'Omārah.

NOTE 21 to p. 17.—The Imām Mālik ibn Anas al-Aṣḥabī was the founder of one of the four great schools into which the Sunniite Muḥammādians are divided. He was born, lived and died at Medīnah, for which reason he is styled *Imām of the City of the Flight*.

NOTE 22 to p. 17.—The places mentioned on this and the preceding page were situated, as will be seen, in the Mikhlaḥ Ja'lar, but, with few exceptions, I have been unable to ascertain their position. *Dumlūrah* is mentioned by Niebuhr in his Description of Arabia (p. 212) and is marked upon his map, a short distance east of Ta'izz. Hamdānī's description of the fortress will be found in Note 111. The fortresses of *Ṣabir* and *Dhakhir* stood without doubt on the mountains after which they appear to be named. These two mountains, according to al-Hamdānī, are separated by an opening, in which stands the town and fortress of Jabā, the residence of the Banu Kurandī (p. 99, l. 6). Mount Ṣabir, he adds (l. 21), separates Jabā from Janād. The valley of *'Unnah*, so named after a sub-tribe of Ḥimyar, was watered by a stream which flowed into the Wādī Zabīd (Hamdānī, p. 71, l. 16; 100, l. 5). I find no mention of Sawā (*supra*, p. 131) in al-Hamdānī, nor of *Samudān*, which is stated to have been one of the most important fortresses in Yaman. According to Yāqūt, the former stood upon Mount Ṣabir.

The Mountain of *Ibb* was, according to Hamdānī, in the country of Dhu Ru'ayn (p. 101, l. 12). It cannot have been far from the town of *Ibb*, perhaps to the eastward, and overlooking the valley that extends downwards and sweeps round Jubal Khubbān. I do not find the name of *Ibb* in Hamdānī, and although it and *Ibb* are mentioned as separate

places by 'Omārah (*supra*, p. 131), there seems to me reason to suspect that the two may turn out to be, at least to all intents and purposes, one and the same place.

Khadiid is so written in Müller's Hamdāni. In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldūn, it is pointed *Khudud*. Yāqūt has *Khadud*, and he merely says that it was a fortress situated in Mikhlāf Ja'far. Hamdāni tells us (p. 78, l. 17), that it stood at a distance of an hour's journey from the castle of the Wuhāzites, and that it contained a magnificent palace.

It is reached by two roads leading to the gates of the castle, near each of which there is a supply of water. Close to the road on the south side there is a cistern (Karif?) known by the name of al-Wafayt, excavated in black rock. Its depth is fifty cubits. Its width twenty, and its length fifty cubits. It is protected and surrounded by a wall, to prevent accidents. The other source of water supply is close to the northern gate. It is a pit in the rock like a well, lined with masonry composed of flag stones. There are steps whereby the water can be reached from the summit of the castle, with the help of torches, both by day and by night. It takes an hour's time to reach the water, and a person at the entrance of the well cannot be distinguished from above.

The Castle of Khadiid must, I conclude, have stood on the north or north-west of Ibb.

'Azzān, according to Yāqūt, stood on the mountain of Raymah in the country of al-Manākhi, not far, therefore, from al-Mudhaykhirah. Yāqūt mentions also 'Azzān-Khabt on Mount Ṣabir near Ta'izz, and 'Azzān-Diakhir, which he says stood on Mount Ṣabir likewise. Bayt 'Izz, as we have seen (Note 6), stood in the country of al-Manākhi; and *ash-Sha'ir*, so written by al-Janadi, the place where Sa'īd son of Najāh met his death, must likewise have been in that neighbourhood, or near the banks of the Wādī Saḥūl. Janadi, instead of *Nur* has *Anwar* (*supra*, Note 19). This place is mentioned by Yāqūt, who says it stood in Mikhlāf Kayzān. Hamdāni makes mention of Kaynān, which, he says, was in the district of Saḥūl, and in the northern part of the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā' (p. 100, l. 15; 68, 6). *An-Naḥīl* (the mountain pass) is doubtless *Naḥīl Sayd*, near Yaḥdīb al-'Ulu, or the ruined city of Zafār. *Saḥūl* stood in the district of Dhu 'l-Kalā', and it is likewise the name of a stream that flowed into Wādī Zabīd. (Hamdāni, p. 68, l. 4; 71, 15.) Instead of *Shawāfi* we must read, as in al-Janadi, *Sharāfi*, which according to Hamdāni was one of the inhabited

places in the province of Saḥūl (p. 100, l. 16). It is mentioned by the author of the Marāṣid.

Wuḥāḡah is described by al-Ḥamdānī as part of the low-lying lands of the district of Dhu 'l-Kalā' and contained a castle of the same name, also called Subā' (p. 68, l. 6; 78, 15). The name *Baybars* is without doubt erroneous. Al-Janadi and Khazraji write *Yaris* (نرس). The same writers have *Zahrān* and *Su'b* (Sha'b ?) instead of *Dahwān* and *Sha'r*. Yākūt says that *al-Khaḍrā* and *al-Yābis* are a fortress (sic) on Mount Wuṣāb. Al-Janadi says of *Nhāḥit* that it had formerly been the abode of kings, but that it had lost its importance. It is mentioned by Yākūt, but he adds nothing to what we are told by 'Onarnāh. He includes the verses given in our text, which he doubtlessly borrows from our author. Their point consists in the double signification of the principal words, and their more obvious meaning is so gross, that I have gladly exempted myself from the task of rendering it in English. I may here mention that al-Ḥamdānī explains (p. 84, l. 12) that the word *al-Ghā'it* is used in Yaman to signify the desert.

Jahjah, mentioned a few lines farther on, is marked on Manzoni's map (Gebgeh), and is referred to by Ḥamdānī, (p. 68, l. 5, 12; 104, 17). *Wuṣāb al-'Ally* and *Wuṣāb al-Aṣḡal* are identified by Glaser with Jublān al-'Arkabah, which Ḥamdānī tells us (p. 103, 12) stood between Wādī Zabīd and Wādī Rima', adding elsewhere (p. 71, 22) that Wādī Rima' flows between Jublān al-'Arkabah and Jublān Raymah.

NOTE 23 to p. 18.—The Ḥamdānite sister tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl were, as is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn on the authority of al-Bayhaḡī and of Ibn Ḥazm (*supra*, p. 175), the progenitors of most of the subdivisions of the Banu Ḥamdān. The Banu Bakīl and Banu Ḥāshid were closely allied, and held high rank among the most powerful Arab communities in Yaman. And they have, in fact, continued, as is shown by Niebuhr, to occupy that position down to the present day. The Banu Yām, to which the Sulayhites and the family of Zuray' belonged, were a subdivision of the Banu Ḥāshid.

According to Ḥamdānī (p. 109), the country of his tribesmen extended from Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah.* The Banu Bakīl, he

* Ṣa'dah belonged to the Banu Khawlān and in pre-Islamitic times it bore the name of *Jamā'* (Ḥamdānī, p. 67.)

adds, possessed, as a general rule, the country on the east of a line drawn from Šan'a to Ša'dah and the Banu Ḥašhid that on the west. The latter owned also the district of *al-Waḥsh*, the western portion of the province of Ṣaḥūl, lying next to the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā' and enclosed by the streams that combine to form the River Zabīd. (Hamdāni, p. 100, 20)

NOTE 24 to p. 18.—*Jabal Burā'* is described by Hamdāni as a north-westerly extension of *Jublān Raymah*, standing between Wādī Rima' and Wādī Ṣaḥām, precisely as is shown in Dr. Glaser's map. The name *al-'Amal* (?), I have not met with elsewhere. *Lī'sān*, according to Dr. Glaser's map and as described by Hamdāni, extends to the western slopes of Ḥarāz. *Musār* is one of the important group of mountains known by the name of *Ḥarāz*.

It will be seen by what follows at p. 44, that most of the strongholds above mentioned, were held at a subsequent period by the family of Muzaḥfar the Sulayhites. Among other places there mentioned are *Maḥr*, *az-Zarf* and *Dhu Rassah*, touching which I have met with no information. *Kawarir* is referred to by Khazraji (*supra*, Note 5). For *Zafār* we may perhaps read *Zaḥīrān*, mentioned by Yākūt as a fortress situated on the Mountain of Wuṣāb. The mountain of *Raymah* stood in the neighbourhood of Thaurmān, and is consequently a different place from *Jublān Raymah*, above referred to. 'Omārah speaks elsewhere (pp. 4 and 132) of *Raymat al-Ishā'ir*, and al-Janādī of *Raymat al-Manākhī* (*supra*, Note 6). See also *Raymah* in Hamdāni, p. 68, 4. The fortress of *Raymat al-Kalā'* of the last mentioned (p. 125, 22), is referred to as separate and distinct from *Raymah*, and he speaks also of Mount *Raymān* in the same locality, that is to say, next to the mountain of Ba'dān (p. 71, 16; 100, 21; 125, 6). Ba'dān and *Raymān* appear to have been the names of tribes inhabiting the province of Ṣaḥūl (p. 100, 7), after which the mountains were doubtless named. *Jublān* was likewise (p. 103, 17) the name borne by the ancestor of certain Ilīmyarite tribes.

The word *Raymān* must probably in certain cases be understood in its natural sense, a *hill*.

NOTE 25 to p. 19.—Al-Janādī (fol. 183 obv.) and also al-Abdal and al-Yāfi' write *ar-Raurāḥiy* الروراهيين. Yākūt repeats the statement in our text that *az-Zuwāhī*

was a village in the district of Harāz, to which he adds, "also in the district of an-Najm, situated where the country of Yaman commences." Hamdāni tells us (p. 120, 6) that the tribe or family of an-Najm inhabited al-Mahjam. He also mentions a place named *az-Zurāhi* (p. 100, 16), but it is distinctly described as situated in the district of Sahūl and in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā, in other words therefore, in Mikhlaḥ Ja'far. I feel quite at a loss to suggest how these various statements are to be reconciled with one another.

NOTE 26 to p. 19.—This book is spoken of under the same title by al-Jawādī and Khazraji, *Kitāb az-Šawar*. It is mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary, the *Kashf az-Zunūn*, in which it is stated that if the book ever existed, it consisted of three (astrological) treatises written by Aristotle.

It will be seen that Ibn Khaldūn gives the book in the possession of 'Amir the name of *Kitāb al-Jafr*. In his Prolegomena (translated by Baron de Slane), Ibn Khaldūn enters into considerable detail on the subject. The book, he tells us, was said to have been originally in the possession of Ja'far as-Šādiḳ (the sixth Imām) and it contained particulars relating to the descendants of 'Alī, revealed by divine grace to Ja'far and other leading members of the family of 'Alī. Ja'far as-Šādiḳ was said to have communicated its contents to a certain chief of the sect of the Zaydites, who committed them to writing. The book was named after the original copy *Kitāb al-Jafr*, because it was written upon sheets of kid-skin or vellum.*

Ibn Khaldūn remarks that the chain of tradition, whereby it is sought to vindicate the authority of the book, is faulty. What became of the original volume, he further states, is not known. But the Fatimites asserted that 'Obayd Allāh was acquainted with its contents, and they cite examples in proof of the knowledge he and his associates had acquired of the future, as shown, for instance, in the case of Ibn Hāushab (Maṣṣūr al-Yaman), who, when he sent Abū 'Abd Allāh ash-Shiya'y to North Africa, knew that there the destinies of the family of 'Alī were to be fulfilled, and the foundations of their empire to be laid. Abū 'Abd Allāh himself, on his arrival in Africa, announced to the men of

* See also *Kashf az-Zunūn*, s.v. *al-Jafr*.

the Berber tribe of *Katāmuk* that they were the people, bearing a name derived from *mystery* (al-Kitmān), who were destined to be champions of the Mahdy. (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 24, Maḳrīzī, i. 350.)

In a curious extract from the *Dastar al-Munajjimīn* printed by Professor de Goeje, one of the appendices to his work on the Karmathians of Bahrayn, it is stated that 'Obayd Allah, on starting from Egypt for North Africa, was attacked by robbers at a place called *at-Taḥānah*. They plundered him of a large portion of his possessions; but his heaviest loss was that of certain books, in which the occult sciences of the Imāms, his forefathers, were contained. When 'Obayd Allah's son al-Kā'im, continues the writer, was sent forth on his first invasion of Egypt (A.H. 301), he succeeded in capturing the robbers, and he recovered possession of the books. On hearing thereof, the Mahdy rejoiced with exceeding joy. "The recovery of these books," he exclaimed, "is of itself a sufficient conquest." The anecdote, somewhat more briefly told, is to be found also in Ibn al-Athīr.

NOTE 27 to p. 21.—See DiotERICI's *Mutanabbi*, p. 695, where the line quoted stands as follows.—

من علم الأسود المحمي مكرمه .
أوامم الليق ام أباه الصيد

NOTE 28 to p. 22.—The first of these two lines of verse is not given by al-Janadi, nor have I found it elsewhere. The name *Asmā* is regarded as derived from the verb *wasama*, with which the first line begins, and which signifies *to mark*, but it is also connected with the verb *sama* to be lofty, *samā'u* the sky, and with *ism* a name. Queen Bilḳis is mentioned in Note 41.

NOTE 29 to p. 24.—This, according to both al-Khazraji and Ibn Khallikān, was in A.H. 453. Al-Janadi adds (p. 183 obv.) that as-Sulayhī's envoys wore Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, father of Sayyidah, who was killed at Adon by the falling in of a house at a time when his daughter was still in her childhood (Ah., p. 268), and that the other was Abu Saba Aḥmad ibn al-Muẓaffar, father of Sulṭān Saba ibn Aḥmad. He further mentions that as-Sulayhī sent the Fatimite Khalifah valuable presents, comprising seventy swords with cornelian handles. Al-Khazraji, after mention-

ing that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi proclaimed the supreme authority of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustanṣir, proceeds as follows:—

When aṣ-Ṣulayḥi raised his standard on the mountain of Maṣār, where he was supported by a number of people of the tribes of Sinḥān, of Yam, of Jusham and of Habrah, a large army advanced against him led by (Ja'far) son of the Imām al-Kāsim ibn 'Aly, hereinbefore mentioned,* and by a man named Ja'far ibn al-'Ahlūs, who was a Shāfi'ite and greatly respected in the western districts of Upper Yaman. He marched along with Ja'far son of al-Kāsim at the head of 30,000 men, but was attacked in his encampment by aṣ-Ṣulayḥi in the month of Sha'bān of the year above mentioned. He was killed along with a large number of his followers and his army dispersed. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi then ascended the mountain of Ḥaḍūr, took possession of it, and seized the fortress of Yanā'† Ibn Abi Ḥashid collected an army, and an engagement took place between them at Sauf, a village between Ḥaḍūr and Bir Banī Shihāb. Ibn Abi Ḥishid was killed together with one thousand of his followers. The name of the place has become proverbial in Yaman, in the phrase *Slaughter of Sauf* (i.e. great carnage). Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi then proceeded to Sa'nā and captured it. The whole of Yaman submitted to him, its hills and its plains (etc. as in 'Omārah).

At p. 48, l. 16, al-Khazraji says that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi subdued the whole country, from Mecca to Ḥadramaut, but that Sa'dah held out against him for a time, under the descendants of an-Nāsir (Alḥamad). He however succeeded in slaying their chief and captured the city.

وأظهر الدعاء إلى المستنصر بالله معذ بن الطاهر العبيدي فلما طهر بمسار و كان معه فيه قوم من سحان و يام و جشم و هره حصرة ابن الامام القاسم بن علي المذكور أولا في جمع كثير و رحل سقى جعفر بن العباس شافعي المذهب كان رحلا محاما في مغارب اليمن الاعلى فسار مع جعفر بن القاسم في ثلثين الفا فوقع الصليحي بجعفر بن العباس في محطه في شعان من السنة المذكورة فقله و قتل

* See *supra*, Note 8.

† Al-Hamdānī mentions Yanā' (p. 106, l. 12) as one of the places situated at the foot or on the lower slopes of Jabal Ḥaḍūr, which, he says, is so named after the ancestor of the Prophet Shu'ayb. Ḥaḍūr is one of the mountains of the Sarāt of Alḥān, which extends from Naḥīl as-Saud to Ḥarāz, and it must not be confounded with Ḥaḍūr Banī Azd (Hamdānī, p. 68), farther north, one of the mountains of al-Maṣūnī. (See Glasow, p. 42-43.)

من اصحابه جمعا كثيرا مقرن الناس عنه ثم طلع حل حصور فاستفقد و احدث
 حصن سابع فجمع له ابن ابي حاسد جمعا فالتقوا بصوف و هي قرية بين
 حصور و وير بني سهاب فقتل ابن ابي حاسد و قتل معه الف رجل من اصحابه
 و بهذه العدة يصرب المثل في المن فقال فله صوف ثم سار الطليحي الى صعا
 و ملكها فطوى اليمن طاسهله و وعده .

NOTE 30 to p. 29.—All these places, *az-Zatū'ib*, *Jabalū 'Ikūd* (the two mountains of 'Ikūd) and *al-'Ukwatūni* (the two 'Ukwas) are mentioned by Yāḳūt, who quotes the lines given in our text, but again adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omārah, excepting a statement that the mountains overlook Zabīd, which is manifestly wrong. 'Omārah tells us that they stood in the country of Ibn Ṭarf, or in other words in that of the Bann Hakuṃ, the tribe to which 'Omārah belonged. Yāḳūt, instead of 'Ikūd as in the *Kamūs* and *Tāj al-'Arūs*, writes 'Ikūd.

NOTE 31 to p. 30.—A.H. 459 is the year given by Khazrajī (p. 83) and also by Ibn al-Athīr (vol. x. p. 38). A comparison of dates shows that the death of as-Sulayḥī must have occurred in A.H. 473, as stated by 'Omārah elsewhere (*supra*, p. 82), as well as in this passage, and also by Ibn Khallikūn and by al-Janādī (fol. 183 obv. and rev.). It seems exceedingly probable that the words in our text, to the effect that the date 459 is assigned to the event and that it is to be preferred to the other, are an interpolation; but the error, it may be, proceeds from the confusion of an earlier expedition to Mecca with that projected in 473.

Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter on the history of the Hāshimite Amīrs of Mecca (Bul. ed. iv. p. 103) says, as in his history of Yaman (*supra*, pp. 147 and 152), that the expedition of 473 was undertaken by command of the Fatimite Khalīfah, and that its purpose was the reinstatement of the Sulaymanites, in the place of Abu Hāshim Muḥammad son of Ja'far, who had renounced the Fatimite supremacy, and proclaimed that of the Abbasides.

Ibn al-Athīr mentions in his *Chronicles* (vol. x. pp. 19 and 38) that as-Sulayḥī made himself master of Mecca in A.H. 455, and won praise by establishing order in the city, by adopting measures for the importation of food, and by extending protection to the pilgrims. He draped the

Ka'bah with a covering of white china silk * and restored its treasures. These, continues the historian, had been carried to Yaman by the Hasanites, from whom they were repurchased by as-Sulayhī. See Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*, pp. 62 and 63-4. It will be noticed that Abu Hāshim Muḥammad was raised to the rulership of Mecca by as-Sulayhī.

NOTE 32 to p. 32.—The word *al-Aḥwal* may also be translated *the Estate*, and the latter is probably the sense in which it was applied to Sa'īd by his people.

NOTE 33 to p. 36.—Khazraji supplies us here with specimens of 'Alī the Sulayhite's talents as a poet. They will be found in Baron de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 348.

NOTE 34 to p. 37.—See the description of a dinār of 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole, in the catalogue of coins at the British Museum. The defaced and illegible word is probably *Maliki*.

NOTE 35 to p. 38.—'Omārah tells us (*supra*, pp. 41 and 42) that when al-Mukarram adopted Dhu Jiblah as his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Shihāb over Ṣan'ā together with 'Imnān ibn al-Faḍl. We learn from al-Janādī (fol. 184 obv.) that As'ad, upon the death of Sa'īd (in 422), was transferred from Ṣan'ā to Zabīd. His expulsion by Jayyāsh occurred the same year. It is somewhat difficult to understand at what time As'ad ibn 'Arrāf can have ruled over the city; but it will be observed that our text is again in a very unsatisfactory condition at this particular point.

NOTE 36 to p. 40.—Yāḳūt, in his *Geographical Dictionary*, reproduces 'Omārah's derivation of the name Dhu Jiblah. But, as appears from Wustenfeld's printed edition, an error has been committed by the author or by his transcribers, whereby the sense of the passage is singularly misrendered. It reads as follows:—

كان يبيع الغياري اللومع الذي بنت فيه المرأة الصليحية دار العروبة
وسميت باسمها .

* See Note 18, footnote.

The words *Dār al-'Izz wa bihi* being misread, it becomes obvious that the sentence could not end with the word *Summiyat*. The writer has accordingly taken upon himself, according to a practice unhappily far too common, to add on his own authority the word *b'ismiha*, besides introducing a conjunction after *bihi*, and thus, whilst escaping one difficulty, he has plunged, without perceiving it, into another.

Yākūt says that Iḥn Jiblah stood at the foot of Mount Sabir, an error which appears also in Ibn Sa'id's Geography. It is in point of fact none other but the place shown in Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south-west of Ibb.

NOTE 37 to p. 42.—Al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) that al-Mukarram died at Bayt Yūnis, or at the fortress of Ashyah, in A.H. 484 or in 480 or in 479. The context here and elsewhere (*supra*, p. 88) shows that al-Mukarram was living in 481. The same writer mentions that although Saba succeeded to the office of Dā'y (which could not be held by a woman), Sayyidah retained in her own hands full sovereignty or temporal power over her husband's dominions.

NOTE 38 to p. 43.—Al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) adds the following (see also al-Khazraji, p. 53)—whence it would appear that a passage is here omitted from our text.

'Omārah relates that Ibn al-Kumm, standing before Saba, recited the ode in which these lines occur. The Prince, on hearing the verses, forbade him to stand, and casting a cushion at his feet, commanded him to be seated. This he did for the purpose of showing him honour and of exalting him over all that were present. When the poet ended his recitation, Saba exclaimed: "Thou art unto us, O Abu 'Abd Allah, such as is described by al-Mutanabbi:

My heart is that of Kings, though—it be perceived that my tongue is that of a poet.*

قال عمار لما قام ابن القم بين يدي سبا ينشد هذه القصيدة الذي منها هذه
الآيات منع من القيام ورمى له مخدة و امره بالعود عليها أكراماً له و رماً
من الحاضرين ثم لما فرغ من الإنشاد قال له يا أبا عبد الله انت عندنا كما قال
المتنبي .

و مرادى من الملوك وإن كا ن لسانى يرمى من الشعراء

* See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 633.

NOTE 39 to p. 45.—The omissions, that are here evident in the text, render it impossible to interpret the author's meaning with any degree of certainty. Those omissions I apprehend to be three in number, as shown by the lacunæ I have left in the translation. In the first, we may infer it to have been related that Khalf's plot was discovered and that he was imprisoned. In the second, that Saba made certain demands, which Jayyāsh, by the advice of his wazīr, met with counter offers; and in the third, that the Arabs refused the proffered terms and proceeded to attack Zabīd.*

I find no mention of these events in either al-Janadi or al-Khazraji; but the former has the following passage (p. 188 obv.), which is copied almost verbatim by Khazraji (p. 88).

Among the leading men of the Abyssinian dynasty was the Wazīr of King Jayyāsh, namely (Abu Sa'ūd) Khalf son of Abu 'l-Tāhir the Omayyad. He was one of the most remarkable men of the day for his distinguished capacity and merits. He attached himself to Jayyāsh when the Ziyadite Kingdom came to an end, and he accompanied him to India. Jayyāsh promised the wazīr, that in the event of their success in the recovery of his kingdom, Khalf should share with him the royal dignity and authority. But when Jayyāsh won the throne, he simply appointed Khalf Wazīr and gave him the title of *Kasim al-Mulk*, Participator in the royal authority. Khalf's reward was confined to the receipt of that barren title, although but for his assistance, Jayyāsh had never succeeded in his enterprise. Ere long hostility arose between them. The wazīr fled and Jayyāsh wrote him in conciliatory terms, inquiring after his welfare. Khalf replied in the following lines:—

If there be a country where I am not held in honour—though it call unto me, I will not answer.

Even though its loveliness be that of the gardens of Paradise—and so also its sweetness. Yet an abject life therein would make its fragrance hateful.

I would fly to where I may be held in honour—even though it be a land whose barren plains resound with the howls of famished wolves.

* The statement that the Arabs, after their defeat on that occasion, did not again invade Tihāmah is in contradiction, it will be observed, with what we read elsewhere. *Supra*, pp. 96 and 97.

و من اعيان دوله الخشة و زبر الملك جياش و هو حلف بن ابى الطاهر ابن الاموى كان من افراد الدهر نلاً و فعلاً و صحب جياشا حتى * زال ملكه و دخل معه الهند و تعاقد ان الامر اذا عاد اليه قاسمه اياه فلما عاد اليه الملك استوزره و سماه قسيم املك و لم يزد على هذا بالاسم و لولا † ما تم لجياش ما تم ثم حصلت الوحشة بينه و بين جياش فهرب مكب اليه يستعطفه و يستخره عن احواله فاجابه بتعبر هو

اذا لم تكس ارض لعرضي ‡ مُعَرَّة فليست و ان نادى الى محسها §
و لو انها كانت || كرومه جنه من ¶ الطيب لم يحسن مع الدلّ طيبها
و سرت الى ارض سواها نُعَبْرِي و ان كان لا يعوى ** من الجذب ذيبها

NOTE 40 to p. 47.—Kur'an S. xxxiii. v. 36. It is explained in the *Kashshuf* that this verse was revealed for the purpose of reproving Zaynab daughter of Jahsh and cousin of the Prophet. The latter had arranged a marriage between her and his freedman Zayd and had provided the dowry. The marriage took place, but the lady and her brother made no disguise of their profound dissatisfaction with her being the wife, as they complained, of a slave. She aspired, it was said, to being taken in marriage by the Prophet himself. Her wishes were eventually gratified, but for the particulars of that ancient piece of scandal, I may confine myself to referring the reader to Sir William Muir's *Life of Muhammad*.

NOTE 41 to p. 47.—Kur'an xxvii. 29, 30 and 32. These words are those of Bilkis Queen of Sheba (Saba), on receiving a letter from Solomon, commanding her and her people to recognise his authority. Bilkis sought the advice of her counsellors, an example which Queen Sayyidah declares she will not follow. The King had heard of Bilkis and of her splendour from the hoopoe, who said to Solomon that he came unto him from (the country of) Saba with truthful tidings, words which Queen Sayyidah, as will

* Khi, حين	† Khi, ولّاه	‡ Khi, نفسى
§ Khi, اجيبها	Khi, اصحت	¶ Khi, مع
‡ لا عوى ؟ لا عوى **		

be observed, turns to account in the subsequent sentence. The words *Resist me not, etc.*, are omitted by 'Omārah, but are inserted by Khazraji, as in the text of the Qur'ān. The abrupt change from the singular to the plural arises from strict adherence to the sacred text. The expression *Ye have wrested the words from their true sense* is likewise borrowed from the Qur'ān, which in several passages applies it to the Jews.

NOTE 42 to p. 48.—Al-Khazraji proceeds as follows (p. 54):—

He (Saba son of Ahmad the Sulayhite) continued to inhabit his castle of A-hyah until he died in the year 492. At his death, Sam'ā and the surrounding country were discovered from the Sulayhite Kingdom. The Queen continued to inhabit Dhu Jiblah, until her death in the year that will be mentioned hereafter (A.H. 532). Sam'ā was conquered by Sulṭān Muṭim ibn al-Ghashim, whose history will be found in this book.

The same date for the death of Saba, A.H. 492, is given by al-Janadi; but Ibn Khaldūn writes 486 (*supra*, p. 151). Al-Janadi adds the correct orthography of the name *Ash-yah*. In the British Museum MS. of 'Omārah it is written *Ashyah*, which I have rectified in the printed text.

NOTE 43 to p. 49.—Al-Afdal Shalunshah was wazir, and virtually absolute ruler of the Fatimite Empire, under the Khalifas al-Musta'la and al-Amir. He was assassinated by order of the latter in A.H. 515.

NOTE 44 to p. 50. The words enclosed within square brackets are absolutely necessary to complete the sense, and we are able to restore them, with little short of certainty, from the corresponding passages of other writers. But another and larger omission may still be suspected, certain particulars on the rise of the family of al-Walid, supplied at this point both by al-Janadi and by al-Khazraji. The latter writes (p. 54) as follows:—

At-Ta'kar belonged to 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite, brother of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sulayh. Al-Mukarram, upon the death of his father and of his uncle 'Abd Allāh, appointed his cousin, As'ad son of 'Abd Allāh, Governor of the city. As'ad's conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed

him and placed him in command of Raymah. He appointed Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walid over at-Ta'kar and its dependencies, and Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Futūḥ son of al-Walid over the fortress of Ta'izz. Al-Mufaḍḍal, then in his early youth, was in the service of al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah and was admitted into the presence of the Princess.

Upon the death of Abu 'l-Barakāt, which occurred after that of al-Mukarram, the Queen conferred the Governorship of at-Ta'kar to his son Khālīd. The latter remained in command for a period of about two years, at the end of which he was slain by the Jurist 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Masū'. This Ibn al-Masū' was a learned Jurist and a man of an earnestly religious disposition. He professed attachment to the Amīr Khālīd ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, who was ruler over his country Dhu 's-Sufāl * (Though a Sunni) he ran no danger of being molested and Khālīd trusted him. He had issued orders that the Jurist should not be hindered from coming up to him at whatsoever time he listed. This man's soul nevertheless instigated him to slay the Governor, the shedding of whose blood he regarded as lawful, seeing that Khālīd was a member of the Ismailite sect. He consulted no person, but persuaded himself that the officials, on finding him prepared with money for the payment of salaries, would submit to him and do his bidding. He engaged the services of an oil-dealer, whose wont it was to go up to the castle with oil, for sale to the people who dwelt in the fortress. He filled his leathern oil-vessel with gold and silver coin and the two went up together. On finding himself alone with the Amīr Khālīd, he slew him. In his excitement he cried aloud. The people of the castle hastened unto him, and finding the Amīr dead, they killed the Jurist.

Al-Janadi (Paris MS. fol 194 rev.) proceeds in the corresponding passage of his history as follows:—

The Queen appointed al-Mufaḍḍal to replace (his brother Khālīd). From the day of his arrival at at-Ta'kar he pursued the Jurists with his enmity. He openly manifested the hatred he bore them and he seized the lands both of the assassin and of his family, their ancient possessions situated in Dhu 's-Sufāl. Most of the Jurists fled from the neighbourhood of at-Ta'kar in dread of his severities. I have mentioned what he did to the people of the Jurist Zayd, when relating the latter's history.

Al-Mufaḍḍal became the Queen's trusted adviser and administrator of her kingdom. The Queen decided upon nothing without his advice. He attained great power, and his word was

* Dhu 's-Sufāl is marked on Niebuhr's and Manzoni's maps southwest of Dhu Jiblah. Yāqūt writes *Safāl* and *Sifāl*.

raised on high. There was not only none among the nobles of the land who could pretend to surpass him, but none that could equal him. He made incursions into Tihāmah on several occasions, with results at times favourable and at others against him. He was a man distinguished by generous and noble qualities. But in supreme nobility and generosity of character, he ranked below Sūta (son of Aḥmad) heretofore mentioned. Al-Mufaḍḍal was liberal and the object of praise. Poets came to him from all parts and eulogized him, and he rewarded them with surpassing rewards. His Court was visited by Mawāhib ilhī Jadīl al-Maghribī, who panegyrized him in several odes, one of which contains the following lines:—

O thou that ownest the Faith and the World and their people,
That clingest with firm grasp to the saving tenets of Islām,
Men say, he that would riches must dwell by the sea or with a
King.
And thus have I done, son of Walīd, for thou art a Sea and thou
art a King."

Among the still existing memorials of al-Mufaḍḍal's rule, is the watercourse he constructed, extending from Hīnwah (†) to the city of Janad.† It passes over places where its channel has been excavated in the living rock, in such wise that a description of the work is hard to be believed. Many such channels were made and a stream of water is led through them. On reaching a spot between two mountains, the craft-men provided for its passage by means of a wall, about two hundred cubits of the new measure in length from one mountain to the other, its height from the ground about fifty cubits and its width about ten cubits. There are the dimensions according to my own measurements and estimates. A person contemplating that great work, feels convinced that it can have been executed only by the Jinn, and but for absolute certainty of its visible existence, it were impossible to believe in it.

Another great work of al-Mufaḍḍal was the reconstruction of

* See Note 74.

† Al-Ahdal (fol. 280 rev.), when mentioning the foundation of the city of Maṣūrah by Sayf al-Islām Tuḡṭakīn in A.H. 592, states that it was built at the distance of a quarter of a day's march south of Janad. He adds that the Sullān revived the prosperity of its valley, known by the name of *Khamūkh* حموخ, which had become the abode of wild beasts, and that in the village of *Hīnwah* (†) حنوة, he built a hospital for the entertainment of strangers. The village in question must have stood near the Castle of Dumlūwah.

the mosque of Janad. The portions he built are the front and the two aisles. The rear was built by a Kādī, one of the Jurists attached to the mosque. The portion erected by al-Mufaḍḍal may be distinguished through its being built of stone. He roofed it and it continued in existence until Mahdy son of 'Alī ibn Mahdy captured the city. He demolished the mosque and burnt it with fire, as will be related hereafter, if it please God. It remained a ruin until the *Ghuzz* (the Turkish and Northern soldiery under the Ayyūbites) arrived in Yaman. The power of the family of Mahdy did not long endure after the destruction of the mosque, nor had it been long in existence before. When Sayf al-Islām reached the city, he restored the mosque and added to its height the existing portion, built of brick. This will be mentioned hereafter, when the history of the Ayyūbite conquest is related.

The Kādī Abu Bakr al-Yāfī mentions the story of the water-channels, in the verses he composed in praise of Maṣṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, wherein he eulogized the father as well as the son, extolling al-Mufaḍḍal as the constructor of that great work. I doubted to whom it was to be rightly attributed, until I found the passage in question in the Kādī's poem. I have already, when giving an account of al-Yāfī's life, said enough to render it unnecessary to recur to the subject here, but I desire to add the lines in which he refers to the artificial watercourse, and to its author al-Mufaḍḍal, as follows:—

I say, rendering honour unto him and of his noble work—in leading
the waters along their rocky bed,
He cleft the lofty mountains and their streams became—as heaven's
rains, flowing over a level plain.

The words *He cleft the lofty mountains* are sure evidence to the truth of what we have said.

Al-Janadi's doubts as to the authorship of the rock-cut water-channels and aqueduct, suggest the question whether the work were not of far more ancient date than he supposes, and whether al-Mufaḍḍal's share in it may not have been confined to its restoration. It would be interesting to learn from modern travellers the present condition of a monument, of which important remains or traces can hardly fail to be still in existence.

يجعل السيد المفضل مكانه من وقت الملح تعند باللقها و اظهر عداوتهم و قض
اراضي القاتل و قومه و هي الاملاك القديمة في دى السفال و هرب غالب العقها
عن مجاورة التعكر خوفا من سطوته و قد ذكرت ما فعل مع اصحاب الفقيه زيد
عند ذكره و صار المفضل رجل البيت و مدبر الملك الدائب (?) عنه ولم يكن

تقطع السيدة امرأً دونه فذلك عظم شأنه وعلت كلمه ولم يبق في اعيان الدولة من يساميه ولا يساويه وغزا تهامة مراراً له و عليه وكانت له مكارم ومفاخر لكها دون مكارم ساء المعدم ذكره وكان المفضل جواداً ممدحا يعصده الشعرا من الامها ويمدحونه فيثيهم على ذلك ثواباً مغنياً واليه قدم مواهيب* بن حديد المعري† وامتدحه بعزرة قصائد من بعضها قوله

يا مالک الدين والدنيا واهلهما و من عزته§ الاسلام منسك
قد قبل جاوز لخطي|| البحر وملكاً وقد صلت وانت البحر والملک¶

و من اناره المقيه للذكر جرة للعبيل من حموه الى مدينة البلد ولقد مر به في مواضع احتضر بها طريقة في امعه بحيث لا يكاد يصدق بذلك على السماع لانه يقر في الصفا حفرا عديدة واجرى الماء منها ثم لما جاء بين جبلين اجاز الصانع في ذلك فاتفق جدارا طوله من الجبل الى الجبل نحواً من مائتي ذراع وارتفاعه في الارض نحواً من خمسين ذراعاً وعرضه نحواً من عسرة اتراع بالجديد وهذا العدير مهي على طريق الحرر والقريب ولقد اذا رأى شخص يقول ما اقدر على هذا الحفر الا الجن ولو لا ثبوت ذلك وادعاه مدّح لم يصدّقه ومن ذلك اباؤا المسجد الجند وحدّ بانه المعدم والجاحين واما المحرمسا بعض العصاة من معها المسجد وحدّ بناء المفضل من المسجد الاحجار وبقف عليها** حتى جاء المهدي بن علي بن مهدي فاخر به واحرقه على ما سيأتي ان شاء الله ولم يزل مهدوماً حتى قدم الغزو هو على ذلك اذ لم يطل مدّة المهادية بعد ذلك ولا ملة ثم لما قدم سيف الاسلام ابنى ذلك وزاد في سمك المسجد ما هو منى الان بالاجر وساني بيان ذلك عند ذكرهم وقد ذكر القاضي ابو بكر الياصبي قصة الغيل في مدحه لابنه منصور لما مدحه وجعل من جملة مدحه مدح ابيه ونه على فعله في الغيل وقد اشكك مهن جراً++ الغيل حتى وجدته في شعر العاصي المذكور وقد تقدم من ذلك مع ذكر ما يعني عن اعادته لكن احب ذكر ما قاله في الغيل وذلك انه لما ذكر المفضل مال

بعروة, Khi § ؟ بعده † المغربي, Khi † مواهب, Khi *
وانت ياس الوليد البحر والملک, Khi ¶ حاور لخطي, Khi ||
أجرى Read ++ * لم تنزل كذلك, Khi **

واقل مكرمة له وتفصيله اجراء للغل في الاجناد
شق الحمال الشاحات واصبحت وكائما كانت عاب * وهاد

وي قوله شق الحمال الشاحات دليل على صحة ما ذكرنا

NOTE 45 to p. 52.—Khazraji has قطان and Yākūt *Kaysun* ميطان, in the neighbourhood, he says, of Iḥu Jiblah. The tribe of Janb, also called Munabbih (Hamdāni, p. 115), and those of Sinḥān, 'Ans and Zubayd were sub-tribes of the Banu Madhij.

NOTE 46 to p. 53.—Al-Janadi (p. 185 obv.) says that this man was son of al-Mufaddal's uncle, and such, he adds, is the statement of Ibn Samurrah, whilst 'Omārah, he continues, attributes the capture of the fortress to certain men among whom was a cousin of his own. Al-Janadi himself is of opinion that both versions may be adopted, to the effect, that is to say, that the insurgents were aided by the co-operation of a person who was kinsman of al-Mufaddal, and by that of 'Omārah's cousin. He mentions also that al-Mufaddal was buried at 'Azzān at-Ta'kar (the slopes of Ta'kar?)

NOTE 47 to p. 54.—Hamdāni speaks of the Banu Baḥr as derived from Rabī'ah (p. 114, l. 20), a name borne by, amongst others, a sub-tribe of Khaniān (Rabī'ah son of Sa'd al-Akbar son of Khaulān (*ib.* l. 13). Rabī'ah was also the name of a sub-tribe of the Banu Janb (Hamdāni, p. 93, l. 9, 13). Baḥr was, moreover, according to Hamdāni, a subdivision of the Nadif, a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah, inhabitants of Ḥudramaut and descendants of Murrah and of 'Arib. And, at p. 112, l. 23, he mentions a tribe or family of the name of Baḥr, descendants of Ḥimyar.

The Banu Diannah he mentions as a sub-tribe of the Banu 'Udhrah, derived from Kudā'ah, and elsewhere as descendants of the Banu Nuḥayr, an Ishmaelite tribe (p. 116, l. 17, and p. 165, l. 1).

The Banu Marran are described as a subdivision of Hamdān (p. 107, l. 9), but also (p. 113, l. 15) as Ḥimyarites. The Banu Zarr, we are told, belonged to the tribe of Jabar (descendants of Yāfi') and consequently Ḥimyarites like-

wise, but in speaking of a member of the family (*supra*, p. 57) it is said that he was a Khaulanite.

The Banu Rāzih and Banu Jumā'ih are stated by Hamdāni to have been Khaulanites (p. 73, l. 18, and p. 114, l. 18, 20).

The tribes of Sha'b and Sha'b-Ilay, he tells us, dwelt in the Sarāt of Khaulān (p. 69, l. 24), and the Banu Ilay he describes as Khaulanites (p. 114, l. 26).

NOTE 48 to p. 55.—The Queen, says al-Janadi (fol. 185 obv.) appointed in the place of al-Mufaddal the son of his uncle, As'ad son of Abu 'l-Futūh, as administrator and guardian of her kingdom. He was the son of Abu 'l-Futūh, son of al-'Alā son of al-Walīd. He resided at the fortresses of Šabir and Ta'izz, over which his father had ruled before him. He continued to exercise the authority formerly held by al-Mufaddal, until the year 514, when he was assassinated at Ta'izz by two of his retainers.* This event, continues al-Janadi, occurred after the arrival of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah.

NOTE 49 to p. 56.—Al-Khazraji, speaking elsewhere of the Banu Jauh (fol. 105), says that when about to march, it was their custom to shout the words mentioned in the text.

NOTE 50 to p. 57.—The *Hujariyah* were a body of men in the service of the Fatimite Khalifas. They were so named because they occupied barracks, known by the name of *al-Hujar*, the Chambers, situated between the great palace at Cairo and Bāb an-Nasr. They were originally a body of skilled craftsmen, first selected by the Khalifah al-Mu'izz, but they were subsequently made use of in a military capacity. Being led by al-Afdal Shahinshah against the Franks at Ascalon, they deserted their leader, who was compelled to retreat, after setting fire to his stores. The body was re-organized by al-Afdal. He fixed their numbers at 3000 men and placed them under the command of an Amīr who received the title of *al-Muwaffiq*. Previous to that time, the Hujariyahs consisted, partly if not wholly, of native Egyptians. They were selected with the greatest care by the provincial governors, from among the

* Khazraji mentions the same date, 514; but As'ad, according to 'Omārah, must have lived to a later period. See pp. 60 and 97.

most promising youths or children to be found in each district, special regard being paid to both physical and intellectual capacity. The native element was eliminated by al-Afdal, who replaced it by a selection of youths from among the families of the foreign soldiery. (Makrizi's *Khitat*, vol. i. p. 443.) Makrizi's words, I may add, are that the new levies were selected from among the children of the *Ajnuul*, a word which properly signifies simply *soldiers*. The singular is *Sundy*, which in Egypt is vulgarly pronounced *Gindy*, and is used to denote a Turkish soldier, and also generally a Turk of the poorer class.

So far as I am aware, al-Afdal's experiment is the only serious attempt ever made to utilize the native population of Egypt in a military capacity, from the time of the Arab conquest down to the days of Muḥammad 'Alī, in the early part of the present century. The fact is all the more curious, considering the incessant struggles there have been for the acquisition of military power. The supremacy of any one of the ever contending factions has invariably depended upon the numbers and bravery of its followers. Muḥammad 'Alī was the first to depart from ancient tradition, and to form an army composed of native levies, but to the end of his life he retained also in his service foreign troops, a policy finally abandoned by his successors some five and twenty years ago. Negro troops have at various times played an important part in the military history of Egypt, and they were especially numerous under the Tulūnites and under the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustaḥṣir, whose mother was indeed a negress.

NOTE 51 to p. 57.—The Ismailite Dā'ys taught their neophytes that mystical and spiritual significations attached, not only to passages and single words of the Qur'ān, but also to numberless particulars observable in the natural world, and especially in the structure of the human body. It would appear from the text, either that they extended similar occult meanings to accidental marks and blemishes, or that Ibn Nujīb ad-Daulah did so, on the occasion in question, on his own authority, for the purpose of impressing upon the people a belief in his supernatural knowledge. See Makrizi's *Khitat*, vol. i. p. 392, and de Sacy's *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*.

NOTE 52 to p. 58.—Māyām was, according to Hamdāni,

the name of a mountain and of a *mikhlaḥ* or district. The river was probably one of the affluents of the Wādī Baghlā-dah. If I rightly understand Hamdānī's explanations (pp. 75, l. 22; 92, 16; 101, 19, 21), Maytam was south or south-east of Dhamār and probably at no great distance from Jabal Khubbān.

The Banu Ḥimās, spoken of a few lines farther on, are mentioned by Ibn Ḳutaybah as a sub-tribe of Madhhij. (Kichhorn, p. 143.)

NOTE 53 to p. 60.—The allusion is to a verse in the *Kur'ān*: *Say, flight will not serve you, if ye flee from death or from slaughter* (S. XXXIII. v. 16).

NOTE 54 to p. 61.—There can be little doubt that a transcriber's omission occurs here, and indeed if the word *hadha*, thus, be not an interpolation, the fact of such an omission may be regarded as absolutely certain. The words I have placed in the translation within square brackets may, I think, be supplied with little or no hesitation, for the purpose of conveying the sense that the story that follows was derived from Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the same who has figured before as one of 'Omārāh's authorities. The subsequent sentence, which I translate "they whom I smite with my hand," etc., has without doubt been incorrectly transcribed.

NOTE 55 to p. 62.—Al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihy was arrested by the Khalifah al-Amir on the fourth of Ramaḍān 519, and was put to death in 522. Al-Maḥrizi says (*Khiraṭ*, vol. i. p. 463), that al-Ma'mūn was accused of having sent (Ibn) Najīb ad-Daulah Abū 'l-Ḥasan to Yaman, with orders to strike coins bearing the name of the Imām al-Mukhtār Muḥammad son of Nizār.

Nizār was son of the Khalifah al-Mustansir. Upon the latter's death in A.N. 487, Aḥmad, a younger brother, was raised to the throne by the Wazīr al-Afdal Shahinshah, under the title of *al-Musta'la billah*. Nizār fled to Alexandria, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Khalifah and assumed the title of *al-Mustaḥa li-līn Illah*. He was soon compelled to surrender himself to al-Afdal, by whom he was conveyed to Cairo and put to death. The Eastern Ismailites embraced the cause of Nizār, who, as they probably with truth asserted, had been appointed by his father

leir to the Empire. They renounced the supremacy of al-Musta'la and of his successors, whom they denounced as usurpers. Hence they are commonly known in Eastern history by the designation *Vizārites*. They were also styled by their enemies *al-Mulāhidah*, the Impious, and in the popular traditions still current in Egypt, they are remembered under the name of *al-Fidawīyah*, because in the perilous adventures they were in the habit of undertaking, they devoted their lives as a ransom (*fidā*) for the liberation and propagation of their Faith. By western historians they are best known under the designation of *the Assassins*. Their Chiefs, now represented by an Imam who resides at Bombay, claim to be descendants of Nizār.

As a curiosity of history, I may add that not many years since certain claims advanced by Indian Dodekite Shiāhs, which practically involved the right of existence of the Bombay Ismailites as a separate body, had to be investigated by an English Court of Justice. Sir Joseph Arnould, before whom the case was tried, delivered an elaborate judgment, in which he reviewed the history of the Aīdes from the days of the Prophet down to the present time, arriving at the conclusion, that a small and obscure sect at Bombay was able to prove its right to be recognised as representatives of the everwile formidable Karmathians, of the no less dreaded Assassins, and of the once powerful Empire of the Fatimites.

NOTE 56 to p. 64.—According to Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 169), Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was drowned at sea, a statement which is probably correct, but for which no authority is given. Al-Khazraji's account of the end of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's career is copied from 'Omārah, and corresponds in every particular with that supplied by our author, saving only certain verbal distinctions, most of which are shown in the notes I have appended to the printed text. Al-Janadi makes the following remarks (fol. 185 rev.), which clearly prove that if we have not the words of 'Omārah in their original purity, their corruption is of ancient date:—

The Queen then delivered up Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, but she sent along with him one of her secretaries. On reaching Aden, the envoy departed with Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and the secretary's journey was delayed for some days. Then he was sent off in a ship, the captain of which received orders to drown him, which he did, at Bāb al-Mandalah. I am in ignorance of the fate of Ibn

Najib ad-Daulah, seeing that 'Omārah does not mention it. The Queen repented of having surrendered Ibn Najib ad-Daulah, and of having sent away her secretary, whose presence with her she esteemed of happy augury.

Al-Janādī's account of the Sulayhite dynasty ends at fol. 185 rev. with the following passage, which al-Khazraji incorporates almost verbatim in his history (p. 58-9).

Upon the death of the Queen, at the date I have mentioned when relating the end of her career,* Maṣṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal succeeded, by her bequest, to the kingdom of the Sulayhites. He sold Ta'lar and Habb and the fortresses (I read حصن for حصن الحلاب) of the Mikhilāf (Ja'firi) and dependencies to the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba ibn Abi Sa'ud. This was in the year 517, fifteen years after the Queen's death. The sovereignty of the Sulayhite dynasty, reckoning it from the year 429, endured therefore 119 years. . .

Maṣṣūr continued to inhabit the fortress of Ta'izz until he died. He was the first to adopt Tha'bat † as a place of recreation. He was wont to go down and spend there several days. His death occurred in the year 510 and odd. He left a son Aḥmad, who succeeded him, and who followed the same course of life as his father until the year 558. Mahdy son of 'Alī ibn Mahdy then came up from Tihānah and purchased of him Ṣābir and Ta'izz. Aḥmad then inhabited Janad until the year 563, when he died.

NOTE 57 to p. 65.—An obvious omission here occurs in our text, which is indeed, in this chapter, more than usually mutilated. The general import of the missing passage is not difficult to conjecture, but its sense and doubtless almost its precise words are supplied by Khazraji. I have not hesitated therefore to incorporate the passage in my translation.

This and other encudments are distinguished by being enclosed within square brackets.

* At fol. 184 rev., al-Janādī says that the Queen died at Dhu Jiblah in a. n. 532. So also in Khazraji. The latter adds that she had attained the age of eighty-eight years, and Dayba' says that she was buried in the mosque she had built at Dhu Jiblah, in the foremost part of the building and on its western side. Her reign, he continues, extended over a period of thirty-one years.

† Niebuhr marks upon his map *Thobad* close to Ta'izz, presumably the place here mentioned. On Manzoni's map the name is written *Thabul*.

The following is Khazraji's version of the early history of the Zurayite dynasty (Leiden MS. pp. 58 and 59), which the reader will be able to compare with the corresponding passages in 'Omārah. The only actual addition to the information given by the latter, is Khazraji's statement that Zuray' gained possession of Dunlūwah in A.H. 480.

قال علي بن الحسن الخزرجي وقعه الله للعمل بما يرصه كان السب في ملك آل زريع عدن و ما ناهجها من الملاد ان الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي لما اسولى على المن و اسبح مدسه عدن فكان فيها يومئذ بو معن قد تغلوا عليها و على لمح و ابين و الشحر و حرموت ابقاها تحت ايديهم و جعلهم نوابها من قبله فلما تزوج المكرم باطمة السيدة جعل الصليحي صدامها عدن و ما ناهجها فكان بنو معن يرفعون خراجها الى السيدة في ايام الصليحي فلما قتل الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي في التاريخ المذكور اولا تغلب بنو معن على ما تحت ايديهم من الملاد فصدهم المكرم الى عدن و اخرجهم منها و ولاها العباس و مسعودا ابني المكرم الهمداني وكانت لهما سابهه محموده و بلا حسن في تمام الدولة المستصرية مع الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي ثم مع ولده المكرم يوم نزوله الى زبيد و اخذ اتمه اسماء بنت سهاب من اسرا الاحول سعيد بن سجاح فجعل للعباس حصن العكر بعدن و باب البر و ما يدخل منه و جعل لمسعود حصن الحصر و باب البحر و ما يدخل منه و اليه امر المدينة و اسلمعهما للحرّة السيدة فلم يزل ارتفاع عدن يحمل الى السيدة في كل سنة مائة الف دينار وقد يزيد وقد ينقص الى ان توفي العباس بن المكرم فحلعه ابنه زريع بن العباس على العكر و باب البر و بقي مسعود على ما تحت يده و كل واحد منهما يحمل ما عليه و ملك زريع الدولة يوم الثلاثاء لست عشرة ليلة حلت من رمضان سنة ثمانين و اربعمائة فلما بعثت السيدة المعصل بن ابي الركات الى زبيد كتبت الى زريع بن العباس و الى عمه مسعود بن المكرم ان يلفياه الى زبيد، فلفياه و قالوا معه قفلا معاً على باب زبيد فاستقل امر عدن الي' ولديهما ابني السعد بن زريع

و ابى الغارات* بن مسعود مغتلاً على الحدة ايما معنت اليهما المفضل بن ابى
البركات فى جيش عظيم مقاتلتهما ثم اسفق الامر على السيف من ذلك
فكانا يحملان اليها فى كل ستة خمسين الفا فلما مات المفضل بن ابى البركات
تغلوا على الحدة ايما معنت الهم ابن عم المفضل اسعد بن ابى الفتوح هاتلها
ثم اتفقا على الربع من الارباع فكانوا يحملون اليها فى كل سنة خمسة وعشرين
الف دينار ثم جعلوا على الربع المذكور اولاً و لم يزل كل واحد منهما
مؤالٍ لابن عمه حتى توفى ابو السعود وولى جهته سا بن ابى السعود ثم توفى
ابو الغارات وولى جهته ولده محمد بن ابى الغارات ثم توفى محمد بن ابى
الغارات فولى اخوه على بن ابى الغارات و هو صاحب حصن الحصن و المسولى
على البحر و المدينة و كان للداعي سبا حصن السعكر و باب السرو ما يدخل
منه و كان له من البرّ الدملوه و سامع و مطران و خمس و دنانير و بعض
المعاصر و بعض الجسد و كانت اعماله واسعة كثره و كان له من الاولاد
على الاغر و محمد الداعي و المفضل و زياد و روح و كان السب فى اسلا
الداعي سا بن ابى السعود و زوال على بن ابى الغارات ان نواب على بن
ابى الغارات انسلط ايديهم على نواب الدعي .

It will be observed that the name borne by the ancestor of the Hamulante Princes of Aden, stands in our text as *الكرم*. In the Leiden MS. of Khazraji and in the Paris MS. of Janadi the name is for the most part written *المكرم*. But not invariably so. Thus in Janadi, at p. 186 rev. (see *infra*, Note 69), it is distinctly written *المكرم* and so also in the corresponding passage in Khazraji, p. 77.

The surname of 'Aly son of Saba is in our text and in Khazraji generally written *الاعز*. But in some instances the diacritical point is absent. In others it is not quite clear to which letter the point is intended to apply. In Janadi the name is distinctly written *الاعز* *al-A'azz*. So also in al-Ahdal. In the British Museum text of Ibn Khaldūn the two names are invariably written *المكرم* and *الاعز*.

* Written here and elsewhere الغارات

NOTE 58 to p. 65.—The author of the *Tāj al-‘Arūs* says that Ta‘kar is one of the mountains of Aden, on the left-hand side of a person proceeding from the gate to the mainland. ‘Omārah, as will be seen (p. 73), speaks of it as within the city, but we may perhaps understand him to mean within the peninsula. It may perhaps be identified with the spot I find marked on Colonel F. M. Hunter’s plan of Aden, under the name of *Orrus al Hosh*, near the “Main Pass Gate.” Colonel Hunter mentions the fort of Ta‘kar (*Statistical Account*, p. 184) and also the Castle (Hisn) al-Akhḍar (pp. 190 and 191), but without giving an indication of their position. The latter, I presume, must have stood at no great distance from the Island of Seerah.

NOTE 59 to p. 67.—The name of Muhammad son of Saba is followed in the text by the words, “and he was the last of the Banu Zuray’.” They are clearly erroneous, and I omit them in the translation. Al Janadi confines himself to saying that ‘Aly ibn Abi ‘l-Gharāt was the last of the family of Ma‘ūd.

The subsequent sentence, in which the conquest of Yaman by Turāu Shah is mentioned, is evidently an interpolation. ‘Omārah tells us (p. 79) that he wrote his history in 564, and he was executed at Cairo on the 2nd Ramaḍān 569, more than two months before the capture of Aden by the Ayyubites, on the 20th Dhu ‘l-Ḥiḍḡah according to Ibn Ḥātim.

NOTE 60 to p. 68.—Al-Janadi adds that ‘Aly ibn Abi ‘l-Gharāt possessed in Lahj the city of Za‘āzi’. له في لحي مدينة الزعازع. In enumerating the possessions of Saba ibn Abi ‘s-Su‘ūd, al-Janadi, like Khazraji, omits the name الرما. He writes as follows:—و له معقل الدملوة و سامع و مطران و نمر و دبحان و بعض المعامر و بعض الجد.

The name of the place that follows after مطران looks in Khazraji (p. 69; see Note 57), and also at p. 108 (see foot-note 5 to p. 98 of the printed text of ‘Omārah), like نمر or نمر. But both Janadi, as quoted above, and Ibn Ḥātim (see Note 101) have نمر which it may be presumed stands for *Numayr*. For the mountain of Sāmi’, see Hamdani, p. 74, 14; 76, 6; 77, 1; and 78, 6. Instead of Za‘āzi’

the name in Müller's edition of Hamdāni and also in Sprenger's *Reise-routen* is written Ra'ārī'.

NOTE 61 to p. 69.—The name of this village is written in the text without the diacritical points. But al-Janādī mentions it when speaking of the learned men of Lahj (fol. 69 rev.). There, as well as at fol. 186 obv., he calls it Bani Abbah al-'Ulyā. He supplies the vocalization of the word, and tells us that it was vulgarly pronounced *Munjabbah*. See also Hamdāni, p. 98, 1.

و من لح نم من فريه ما انه العليا واسعمل ذلك مسميت بميمه بفتح
الميم وسكون الون و ميم الياء المناء من تحت و ميم الاء الموحدة مع
يشددها نم هاء ساكنه و سمت بالاسم الاول لان اول نادها رجل من موطه
يعال له أنه بفتح الهمزة و ميم الاء الموحدة مع تشديد و سكون الهاء.

NOTE 62 to p. 69.—The line quoted in the text is from the Mu'allakah of 'Tarafah ibn al-'Abd, al-Bakri.

و طلم ذوى القرنى انذ مصاصة على المرء من وقع الخسام المهدى

NOTE 63 to p. 70.—The family of Zuray', as has been seen, were members of the Banu Jusham, a sub-tribe of the Banu Yām, themselves a subdivision of the great Sept of Hamdān.

NOTE 64 to p. 70.—See Dieterici's *Mutanabbi*, p. 402. The entire verse, of which, for obvious reasons, only the second hemistich was quoted, and which, as will be noticed, is inaccurately rendered, is as follows:—

اعلى الممالك ما يبنى على الأسل والطنع عند مجتبيهن كالقفل

The noblest of Empires are built up with the sword—and to those that love (desire to win) them, lance-thrusts are as kisses.

The affixed pronoun, rendered by *them*, is in the feminine, the word *mamālik*, kingdoms, to which it refers, being a feminine plural.

NOTE 65 to p. 73.—As-Suhayb, according to Hamdāni

(p. 54, 24), was inhabited by a people descended from Saba, and they were known by the designation of Saba-Ṣuhayb. Elsewhere (p. 189) he mentions Ṣuhayb as on the pilgrim route from Aden, next after Lahj. Manzoni marks Jābal "Menif" on his map, about twelve miles north of Lahj, as also a stream of the same name flowing thence into the Wadi "Saib." Yāḳūt mentions Munif as the name of a fortress situated on Mount Ṣabir, which, it seems to me, requires confirmation.

The following are the corresponding passages in al-Janadi (fol. 186 obv.). The words of al-Khazraji (p. 70), who indeed cites al-Janadi as his authority, are substantially the same :

"War continued to rage between the two parties and many battles were fought between them, ending eventually in the victory of Saba over his kinsman. 'Aly son of Abū 'l-Gharāt fled to Saba-Ṣuhayb, where he and his friends entrenched themselves in two fortresses, Munif and al-Jabalāh (†). A wonderful thing was, that on the day upon which 'Aly was defeated, Bilāl the freedman of Saba captured the fortress of al-Khadrā. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings. . . .

"Bilāl brought down the Honourable Lady Bahjah (from al-Khadrā) into the city (of Aden), where she continued to reside until her death. I believe that the mosque known under the name of *Masjid al-Ilurrah* (the Lady's Mosque), situated near the principal mosque of Aden, is named after her.

"On the termination of the war, the Dū'y Saba entered Aden, where he abode for seven months and then died.* He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar, in the year 533. After the year 700, signs of excavation in a mound at the foot of at-Ta'kar became visible through the action of the rains. It was surmised that treasure was concealed on the spot, and information was carried to the Governor of the city. He went up and stood by whilst the workmen uncovered a large chest, closely fastened with nails. It was opened and found to contain the body of a man, wound in sheets, but upon being touched the body crumbled into dust. The chest and remains were restored to their original place, as was also the earth that had been dug out. It may be that this was the body of the Dū'y, but God is all-knowing.†

* Khazraji (p. 70) quotes Janadi to the effect that Saba died in 533, the same year as stated in 'Omārah; but the event occurred, he adds, in 532, "the year in which Queen Sayyidāh also died."

† The practice of burying the dead enclosed in coffins is, so far as I am aware, altogether unknown in Muhammadan countries at

